



John Gwennap,
Falmouth.



John Gwennap,
Falmouth.



9006 bb 8

A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
SIEGES AND BATTLES,
By SEA and LAND

CONTAINING,
A Particular and Circumstantial Account
Of the most remarkable
Battles and Sieges, Bombardments and
Expeditions,

In different Ages and Parts of the World;
And particularly, such as relate to
GREAT BRITAIN and her Dependencies.
Including,

*Anecdotes of the Lives, Military and Naval
Transactions, of all the celebrated Admirals,
Generals, Captains, &c. who have distinguish-
ed themselves in the Service of their Country.*

In which will be explained,
The MILITARY and NAVAL Terms of Art.
Embellished with

PLANS of the Battles, and HEADS of the Illustrious
Persons, mentioned in the Course of the Work.

VOL. III.

L O N D O N;

Printed for J. CURTIS in Fleet-street, ~
J. JOHNSON opposite the Monument, and
M. THRUSH in Salisbury Court,

1762.

J. Ellis sculp.



CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

	Page.
O F the wars of Philip of Macedon	1
Philip defeats the army of Argæus	2
reduces the country of Pæonia	ibid.
marches against the Illyrians	ibid.
totally defeats them	3
takes the city of Crenides	4
loses his eye by an arrow at the siege of Methone, which city he takes	5
marches into Thessaly	ibid.
Pheræa surrendered to him	7
his war with the republic of the Olyn- thians	ibid.
passes the Thermopylæ and invades Phocis, and puts an end to the Phocyan, or sacred, war	9
the Eubæan war	11
marches against a savage people, called the Treballi	12
elected general of the Amphictions	13
sends ambassadors to Athens.	ibid.
Philip	

	Page
Philip elected generalissimo of the Greeks	11
against the Persians	14
mistakes the sense of the answer given by the Delphic oracle, concern- ing the Persian war	ibid.
is assassinated	15

C H A P II.

Of the wars of Alexander the Great	15
Alexander marches to the banks of the Danube	ibid.
takes the city of Thebes	16
A remarkable story of a lady at the siege of Thebes	ibid.
Alexander chosen generalissimo of the Gre- cian forces	18
opposed in passing the Granicus	19
passes the Granicus	21
The battle of Granicus	22
Alexander defeats the Persians	24
besieges, and takes Miletus	25
Several cities surrendered to Alexander	26
Alexander besieges Halicarnassus and quits it	ib.
resumes the siege of Halicarnassus, and takes it	27
attacks the Marmarians,	29
a horrid massacre	30
his war with the Aspendians	31
falls sick	33
marches to meet Darius	34
prepares to fight Darius	35

C O N T E N T S.

iii.

	Page.
The battle of Issus, and defeat of Darius	36
Alexander takes the mother, wife, and children of Darius, prisoners	40
———— marches into Syria ———	ibid.
Damascus treacherously given up to a ge- neral of Alexander	41.
The retreat of Darius ———	42
Alexander takes the city of Tyre	44
An extraordinary interview between Alex- ander and the Jewish high-priest	ibid.
Alexander enters Jerusalem ———	45
———— is shown the prophecies of Daniel concerning himself ———	46
———— marches for Ægypt ———	47
Memphis and Pelusium surrenders to him	ib.
Alexander builds the city of Alexandria	48
———— pursues Darius ———	ibid.
———— passes the Tigris with great diffi- culty ———	49
———— his army intimidated by an eclipse	51
———— prepares for the battle of Gaugamela	53
The battle of Gaugamela, in which Darius is defeated ———	57
Darius escapes from the pursuit of Alexan- der, and retires into Media	61
An extraordinary instance of humanity in Darius ———	64
Alexander enters Babylon ———	65
———— marches thro' the Persian streights	ib.
———— arrives at Persopolis, plunders and burns it ———	66
Alexander	

	Page.
Alexander enters Parthia	67
Darius murdered	68
— his dying message to Alexander	69
Alexander degenerates into luxury, &c. <i>ibid.</i>	
— takes Gaza and several other cities	70
— builds a city	71
— murders his friend Clytus at a banquet	72
— marches into Sogdia, and besieges a fortress built on a rock	75
— removes the war into India	77
— encamps near Nyfa	78
— besieges and takes the rock of Aornos	80
— takes Ecbolimus	82
— arrives at the river Indus	<i>ibid.</i>
— opposed in passing the Indus by king Porus	85
— crosses the Indus	86
— engages with Porus and defeats him	91
— his clemency to Porus	95
— crosses the Hydraortes	96
— defeats the Oxydracæ	97
— wounded	98
— his army in great distress	102
— passes through Carmania, in Bacthalian festivity	103
— arrives in Media	106
— re-enters Babylon	107
— erects an extraordinary monumental	

CONTENTS.

v.

	Page.
mental structure for his deceased and beloved general Hephæstion	108
—— violent illness from excessive drinking	110
—— dies	111

CHAP. III.

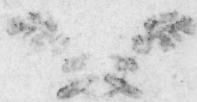
OF the most memorable wars of the Romans	113
Of their first wars	ibid.
The battle of the Horatii and Curiatii	114
The Roman feciales, what (the note)	ibid.
The Roman manner of making treaties	ibid.
Pater patratus, what (see note)	118
Horatius kills the three Curiatii	121
—— kills his own sister	ibid.
—— condemned to die; tho' saved by the people; but forced to pass under the yoke	122
The battle of Regillus	123
Rome taken and burnt by the Gauls	129
Just but satirical answer of Brennus the Gaulish general to the Romans	132
The Gauls enter Rome	135
The citizens murdered in the forum	136
Rome plundered and burnt	138
The geese save the capitol	143
A golden image of a goose erected at Rome	145
The Romans enter into a treaty with the Gauls	146
The treaty broke off by the coming of Camillus	147
	The

vi. CONTENTS.

	Page.
The Gauls entirely cut off	148.
Another war between the Romans and Gauls	149
The fears of the Romans about a Sym- bylline prophecy removed	150.
The Gauls defeated	153.
The consul Æmilius enters Rome in tri- umph	156.
The Gauls and Insubres defeated	158
The Gæsatæ defeated	160
Marcellus triumphs	161.
Numantia besieged and taken by the Ro- mans	162.
A peace concluded between the Romans and Viriathus	165.
The peace treacherously broken by the Romans	167
Viriathus subdued	168.

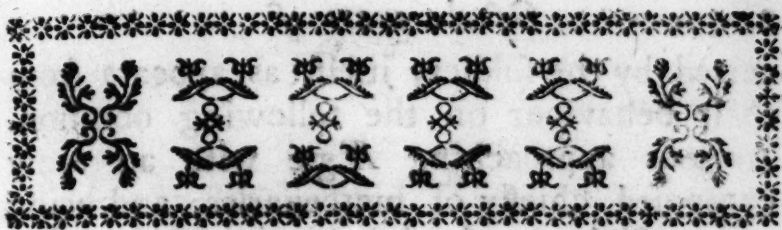


The Gauls entirely cut off
Another war between the Romans and
Gauls
The fears of the Romans about a sym-
bolical prophecy rendered
The Gauls desperate
The consul at Rome orders Rome in arms
The Gauls and Italians joined
The Gauls defeated
Marcellus triumphs
Nannus besieged
A peace concluded
and Vannius
The peace rendered only broken
Romans
Vannius subdued





PHILIP, King of MACEDON.




A
GENERAL HISTORY
O F
SIEGES AND BATTLES.



C H A P. I.

Of the wars of Philip of Macedon.

 HILIP, the son of Amyntas II. ascended* the throne of Macedon at twenty-four years of age; the glory of his subsequent reign, was chiefly owing to the care with which he cultivated military discipline. The great advantages arising from hence, were soon per-

* Year of the world 3644, before Christ 360.

ceived by the soldiery itself, as appears from their behaviour on the following occasion. Argæus approaching *Ægæ* with an army composed chiefly of mercenaries, and being put to flight by the inhabitants of that city, Philip pursued them, in order to give his troops an opportunity of exerting that courage which he had taken so much pains to inspire them with; the event served greatly to illustrate his character as a general; for having joined this body of mercenaries, he gave them a total overthrow, by which event the Macedonian army was invigorated with new courage, and fully convinced of the great importance of exactly observing the rules of military discipline. Philip, whose most shining qualities were, caution and prudence, condescended to make an accommodation with a considerable body of troops which had fled to a rising ground.

Philip having, soon after, made peace with the Athenians, availed himself of the opportunity afforded him by the death of Agis, king of *Pæonia*, to wreak vengeance upon the people of that country; in this enterprise he was so well seconded by fortune, that he in a short time possessed himself of it, and reduced it to a state of servitude. He then, with an army of ten thousand foot, and six hundred horse, marched against the Illyrians. Tho' the Illyrians were a very warlike people, and had upon many occasions been too hard for the
Mace-

Macedonians, their king, Bradylis, proposed making an accommodation with Philip, provided both parties were to remain unmolested in the domains they were then possessed of. Philip not choosing to close with these terms, Bradylis endeavoured to animate his troops, by reminding them of their past conquests, and advanced boldly against Philip, with an army of ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse. After a long and bloody engagement, the Illyrians were totally defeated by Philip, who having sent his cavalry to charge the enemy in flank, in person made head against them with his phalanx; in this engagement seven thousand of the Illyrians were slain, by which loss, they were reduced so low, that they found themselves under a necessity of ceding all their conquests, in order to purchase a peace.

* Encouraged by these reiterated successes, Philip soon after turned his arms against Amphipolis. This city had always given great umbrage to the kings of Macedon; wherefore Philip, from the day that he ascended the throne, waited with impatience for a proper opportunity to attack it. The inhabitants of Amphipolis, alarmed thereat, dispatched Hierax and Stratocles to Athens, to

• Before Christ 358.

intreat that republic, to take them and their city under its protection. The Athenians, contrary to the advice of Demosthenes and others, who dreaded the growing power of Philip, refused to succour the people of Amphipolis: Philip being hereby encouraged, pushed the siege so vigorously, that he at last took the city by storm, and pursuant to the sanguinary maxims of politicians, who are of opinion that no medium should be observed upon such occasions, he caused all those who had opposed his interests to be put to the sword, and treated the rest with the utmost humanity.

Philip finding himself a favourite of fortune, resolved to pursue her with unabated ardour, and accordingly marched against Pydna and Potidea; the last of these cities was defended by an Athenian garrison, which he permitted to march out with all the marks of honour. He then gave up the city to the Olynthians, in order to render them favourable to his cause.

Philip soon after, made a most profitable acquisition; he possessed himself of Crenides, the capital city of the countries lying between Strymon and Nessus, and managed the gold mines, with which they abound, in such a manner, as to draw from them yearly a revenue of a thousand talents.

Greece being thrown into great confusion by the Phocyan, commonly called the sacred, war,

war, Philip availed himself of that occasion to pursue and increase his conquests. He accordingly laid siege to Methone, being of opinion, that his conquests in Thrace would run some risk, if his enemies should possess themselves thereof. The inhabitants defended themselves with great resolution, but at last capitulated for leave to quit the place, which was readily granted them; after which, Philip caused the city to be razed and abandoned its territories to his soldiers. At this siege Philip lost an eye, being shot at with an arrow, by one Aster, an archer of great address, whom he caused to be hanged, upon taking the place.

* Philip having recovered of his wound, resolved to march into Theffaly, being called thither by several of the princes of that country, whom the ambition of a single family threatened with great calamities. The tyrant Alexander of Phærea, having been assassinated by his wife and brothers, Lycophon, the eldest, took the reins of government into his hands, but treading in the steps of his brother, the Aleuadæ, or Grandees of Theffaly, applied to Philip, and intreated him to assist them against the tyrant. Philip accordingly marched into Theffaly, and fell

* Before Christ 353..

B. 3.

upon

upon Lycophron, who, finding himself unable to resist the Macedonian foot, seconded by the Thessalian horse, applied for aid to Onomarchus, general of the Phocians, who dispatched his brother with an army of seven thousand men to his assistance. Lycophron, inspired with resolution at the approach of these succours, came to an engagement with Philip, in which he received a total overthrow, and the Phocians were driven out of Thessaly. Onomarchus having received information hereof, marched with his whole army to the assistance of Lycophron, and having defeated Philip in two battles, forced him to retreat from Thessaly.

Philip being thoroughly sensible that the reduction of Thessaly was essential to the success of the designs which he had formed, made it his chief care to recruit his army, and when it was sufficiently augmented, marched against Lycophron. The tyrant hereupon retired with his troops to a secure camp, and solicited aid of the Phocians. Onomarchus, who was resolved to render this battle decisive, marched against Philip with twenty thousand foot, and five hundred horse. The latter had, in the interim, prevailed on the Thessalians, to exert themselves to their utmost, in order to promote his cause; and his forces being at length increased to twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he thought he had no longer any reason to decline

eline coming to an engagement. The Thessalians behaved so well on this occasion, that six thousand of the Phocians were slain, with their general, and three thousand taken prisoners. Few of the Phocians would have escaped with life, had not the Athenian fleet passed by, and afforded to such as could swim, an opportunity of preserving their lives.

After this defeat, Lycophron and his brother Pitholaus, having no longer any hopes of retaining their principality, thought it advisable to give it up, and being dismissed upon giving their oaths that they would make no disturbance, they delivered up Phœræa to Philip, who according to his promise made to the Thessalians, restored all the cities to liberty. Being strengthened by so powerful an alliance, he endeavoured to pass through the Pylæ, in order to fall upon the Phocians. This was a very daring enterprize, for no Macedonian prince had ever entered Greece since the defeat of the Persians at Plataea. The Athenians being apprized of his intentions, marched with the utmost speed, seized the passes, and forced him to abandon his enterprize, and retire to Macedon.

Philip's next remarkable war, was that which he carried on against the republic of the Olynthians: at the very beginning of it, he took Zeira, a town belonging to them.

He then marched against Mycaberna and Torone, and quickly made himself master of both.

He then attacked the Olynthians themselves, defeated them twice in the field, and at last invested their city. As the forces sent to their assistance by the Athenians, were for the most part mercenaries, the Olynthians were but little benefited by them; their fidelity was moreover greatly suspected; for these reasons, the citizens sent a second time to Athens, to request a fresh succour, and that of Athenian troops. At the instigation of Demosthenes, Chares was dispatched with seventeen galleys, and a land army of two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, all citizens of Athens. Olynthus, however, was at last taken, but this was owing rather to the policy of Philip, than the bravery of his soldiers. He had by bribes gained over Euthykrates and Lasthenes, the principal magistrates of the city, who secretly opened its gates to Philip and his army. Philip having taken the city, gave up the houses to be plundered by the soldiery, and sold the citizens for slaves. Philip, who was ever fertile in artifices, amused the Athenian plenipotentiaries, who were sent to treat with him about peace, till he had taken from the republic such places in Thrace, as were best situated for covering his territories. At length a peace was concluded, but Philip refused to ratify

Philip of Macedon.

9

ratify it till he had made himself master of Pheræa in Thessaly, and had drawn together a considerable body of troops.

Soon after, Philip, whilst the Athenians suspected nothing at all of the matter, passed Thermopylæ, in order to fall upon Phocis, and having ordered his soldiers to put on crowns of laurel, in token of their being soldiers of Apollo, he declared himself lieutenant general of that God. He then invaded Phocis with so much vigour, that the inhabitants of that country, whom he had caused to be declared guilty of sacrilege, were intimidated to such a degree, that they immediately threw themselves upon his mercy. In this manner ended the Phocyan, or sacred, war. Phalæcus having obtained permission to march into Peloponnesus with his army of mercenaries; and judgment on the Phocyans being referred to the grand council of Greece, commonly called the council of Amphictyons; the decree of this council, was, that the walls of three Phocyan cities, should be levelled with the ground, that the people should dwell in villages only, that they should pay a tribute of sixty talents per annum, and never be allowed the use either of horses or arms, till they had made restitution to the temple of Apollo, of the sums which they had sacrilegiously taken from thence. They were deprived of their arms, which were broken to pieces and burnt, and their double

vote in the council was taken from them, and given to the Macedonians. Philip having taken care to have the decree of the Amphyctions punctually executed, returned with his army to Macedon, his conduct being highly applauded.

The eyes of the Athenians were shortly after opened; they perceived that they had been drawn in to make a disadvantageous peace, inasmuch as the Phocians had been reduced, and Philip having possessed himself of Thermopylæ, had it in his power to enter Greece whenever he thought proper. They found that they had been guilty of a false step, in forsaking their allies, and being filled with apprehensions of falling victims themselves to the power of Philip, they gave orders that the women should retire out of the villages into the city, and that their walls and forts should be repaired; they were however dissuaded by Demosthenes, from proceeding to an open war with Philip, who still continued to take several places in Thrace, whereby the Athenians were greatly distressed. Diopithes, who was at the head of the Athenian colonies in those parts, perceiving the drift of Philip, without delay, raised a numerous army, and availing himself of the king's absence, entered the dominions of Philip, and ravaged them on every side. Philip complained of this to the Athenians; but they,
by

by the advice of Demosthenes, approved of the conduct of Diopithes.

Not long after, Philip repressed an insurrection of the Illyrians, who menaced him with a formidable invasion.

The celebrated war of Eubæa, which now goes by the name of Negropont, was the next that gave Philip an opportunity of displaying his abilities as a warrior. For this expedition he made uncommon preparations, and provided for the security of his dominions during his absence, by appointing his son Alexander, regent. When the season of the year was favourable, he marched at the head of thirty thousand men, and laid siege to Perinthus. As the city of Perinthus was strong, both by art and nature, its inhabitants made a brave defence. Philip pressed it hard, both by his battering engines, and by sap. He moreover, caused moving towers to be erected, which enabled his soldiers to throw all sorts of missive weapons into the city.

The people of Perinthus received assistance from the Athenians and Byzantines, yet Philip not in the least discouraged thereat, no sooner saw a little breach made in the wall, but he proceeded to the assault, and stormed Perinthus with great fury. The Perinthians could not, doubtless, have resisted for a long time, had it not been for the situation of their city; it stood on the side of a hill, and their houses were built with the greatest regularity.

larity imaginable, insomuch that every street, by the means of a few works, had the effect of a wall, in battering of which, the besiegers were exposed to the whole shot of the besieged. Philip perceiving this, consulted his engineer Polindus, who informed him, that art furnished no method of surmounting such difficulties, which could be effected by time alone; whereupon he resolved, in order to make his army amends for the great fatigue it had undergone, to repair with a considerable body of troops to Byzantium, and block it up. That city, drained as it was by sending aid to Perinthus, was by no means in a condition to sustain a siege of any length, and Philip would certainly have made himself master of it, had not Phocyon, just then, been dispatched by the Athenians to the assistance of the Byzantines. The Athenians were immediately joined by the inhabitants of the Chersonese, and Philip not choosing to cope with such a number of enemies, raised both sieges, and retired with his troops, greatly fatigued and dispirited.

Philip, not in the least daunted by this misfortune, immediately proposed conditions of peace, and turned his arms against a Scythian prince, whom he totally routed with all his forces, and enriched his own soldiers with the booty. The Triballi, a savage people, having refused Philip a passage through their country, if he would not buy it with part of the
the

the spoils, he immediately gave them battle; in the engagement Philip received a wound, in his thigh, and his horse was killed under him. Being in great danger, his son Alexander flew to his assistance, and rescued him from the Barbarians; when remounted again, he gave the enemy a complete overthrow, and returned into Macedon.

Philip having found means to get himself chosen general of the Amphyctions, marched with his army, under pretence of executing their commands, but in reality to effect his own purposes; for having entered Greece with his army, he seized upon Elatea, a great city of Phocis, built on the banks of the river Cephissus. The Athenians were greatly alarmed upon hearing of Philip's march; they were advised by Demosthenes to send ambassadors throughout all Greece, and in particular, to the Thebans, to engage them to rise at once. The Thebans were so affected by the eloquence and just reasoning of Demosthenes, who was at the head of the embassy to their city, that they readily closed with the Athenians, and consulted with Demosthenes upon the measures proper to be taken in such an emergency. Philip, thereupon, sent ambassadors to Athens, to treat of a peace, but all his designs were baffled by Demosthenes. An army being raised, marched with all speed to Eleusis, where they were joined by the Thebans. The army of the
confe-

confederates was numerous, but it was led by generals defective both in conduct and courage. Chares and Lyficles commanded the Athenians, and even the names of the Theban generals are not known; however, they prepared to come to an engagement. Philip, with the same intention, advanced to Chæronæa, in the neighbourhood of which city the confederates had pitched their camps. About sun rise, the day following, the two armies joined battle, and the confederates being totally defeated, the authority of Philip was thoroughly confirmed.

Philip, encouraged by this accession of power, convened an assembly of the states of Greece, by which he was chosen generalissimo of the Greeks, and constituted their leader against the Persians. Having by the influence of his authority settled a peace amongst them, and determined the number of troops which was to be furnished by each, he returned to Macedon, in order to prepare for this important expedition. He began, by consulting the oracle of Delphos, with regard to the success of the Persian war. From the answer which he received, he inferred, that he was to lead the Persian king as a victim to be offered to the Gods of Greece, as Pythia had expressed herself in these terms, *the head of the ox is encircled with wreaths, it is doomed to laughter, and shall shortly fall.*

But

was led
et and
manded
of the
wever,
ement.
iced to
which
their
owing,
confe-
thority
f pow-
ates of
liffimo
leader
influ-
mongst
troops
he re-
are for
an, by
regard
om the
that he
n to be
ia had
head of
med to

But





ALEXANDER
the Great.

But the event soon proved, that Philip had greatly mistaken the meaning of the oracle, for he was shortly after assassinated * at the Theatre, by Pausanias, a young nobleman who was irritated against him, because he had declined giving him satisfaction for an affront received from Attalus, the uncle of his wife.

* Year of the world 3668, before Christ 336.



CH A P. II.

Of the wars of Alexander the Great.

ALÉXANDER, so generally known by the surname of the Great, * ascended the throne of Macedon, at twenty years of age. Being in great danger from the barbarous nations, with which Philip had often fought, it was his first care to reduce them. With this view he marched to the banks of the Danube, and having crossed that river,

* Year of the world 3668, before Christ 386.

in

in one night defeated the king of the Triballi, put the Getae to flight, and reduced several barbarous nations. The Thebans having been encouraged to revolt, by a false report of Alexander's death, that monarch marched up to the walls of their city, and having required of them to deliver up to him Phænix, and Prothytes, the authors of the revolt, promised a general pardon to all that should come over to him. But the Thebans returned this indulgence with an insult, requiring to have Philotas and Antipater delivered up to them, and published a declaration, inviting all who wished well to the liberty of Greece, to join with them in its defence. Alexander finding gentle methods ineffectual, came to an engagement with the Thebans, wherein the latter behaved with a bravery not to be expected from their force, for the enemies army greatly surpassed theirs in number. But being soon charged in the rear by those that survived of the Macedonian garrison in the citadel, they were, for the most part, cut to pieces, and the city taken and plundered.

Great were the calamities suffered by the Thebans, when their city was sacked. A body of Thracians having pulled down and rifled the house of Timoclea, a lady of the first rank, their chief seized her, and having gratified his brutal lust with her, inquired whether she had any hidden treasures. Timoclea having answered in the affirmative, conducted

condu
him
the e
self t
fects.
well,
'Time
most
stone
Thra
who
swer,
Thoe
Char
Gree
T
gave
to g
dren.
So
at th
the c
at lib
of ho
scen
Poet
revo
num
sold.
A
vene
Cori

conducted him into her garden, and showing him a well, told him, that as soon as ever the enemy had entered the city, she had herself thrown into it all her most valuable effects. The officer hereupon approaching the well, and stooping down to observe its depth, Timoclea, who stood behind, exerting her utmost strength, pushed him into it, and then stoned him to death. Being seized by the Thracians, she was carried before Alexander, who asking her who she was, she made answer, with an undaunted air; I am sister to Thœgines, who was killed at the battle of Charonea, where he defended the liberty of Greece against king Philip.

The prince, struck by so noble an answer, gave orders that the lady should be permitted to go wherever she pleased, with her children.

So great was the resentment of Alexander at the revolt of the Thebans, that he caused the city to be demolished. He, however, set at liberty the priests, all those who had right of hospitality with the Macedonians; the descendants of Pindar, the celebrated Lyrick Poet, and those who had been against the revolt; but all the rest, who amounted in number to thirty thousand, he caused to be sold.

Alexander, encouraged by this success, convened an assembly of the states of Greece at Corinth, by which he was, without difficulty, chosen

chosen generalissimo of all the Grecian forces, in the same manner as his father Philip had been. This point being gained, Alexander, after having settled the affairs of Macedon, and appointed Antipater Viceroy, during his absence, set out upon his expedition to Asia. His army was not very considerable, it amounted only to thirty thousand foot, and four or five thousand horse, but they were all valiant men, well disciplined, and experienced in the art of war; in a word, they were the veteran soldiers of king Philip, and most of the officers were sixty years old.

The infantry was led by Parmenio. His son Philotas was at the head of eighteen hundred horse, and Callas led a body of Thessalian cavalry equal in number; the remainder of the cavalry, which amounted to six hundred, had its particular general. The Thracians and Pæonians, whose posts were in the front, were under the command of Cassander. Alexander bent his march along the lake Cercinum, towards Amphipolis, and having passed the river Strymon, and then the Hebrus, arrived at Sestos in twenty days time. He then gave orders to Parmenio to pass over from Sestos, to Abidos, with the whole cavalry, and part of the foot, which he effected accordingly, by means of a hundred and threescore galleys, and a considerable number of flat-bottom boats. Alexander steered his own galley from Eleontum to the port of the Achæians, and being arrived at the midst of the Hellespont.

pont, he sacrificed a bull to Neptune, and the Nereids; and poured libations into the sea from a golden goblet. It is added by some historians, that after he had thrown a javelin at the land, as it were, in order to take possession of it, he leaped on shore from his vessel, completely armed, and caused altars to be raised to Jupiter, Minerva, and Hercules, for having afforded him their assistance in so signal a manner.

So much did Alexander rely upon his good fortune, and the rich spoils, that he had made no great provision for this expedition, in a persuasion that the war, if carried on with success, would supply him with whatever he wanted. It is said, that he had not more than seventy talents to pay his army, and provision only for a month. His Patrimony he had divided among his generals and soldiers, and had found means to inspire his whole army with such confidence, that they thought themselves secure of victory beforehand.

Alexander, being at length arrived upon the banks of the Granicus, a river of Phrygia, the Satrapæ, (for so the generals who commanded the Persian king's forces were called) posted on the other side, resolved to oppose his passage. The army which they headed amounted to no less than one hundred thousand foot, and upwards of ten thousand horse. Memnon, the Rhodian, who was
set

set over the whole coast of Asia, by Darius, had advised the Satrapæ not to hazard an engagement, but to lay waste the plains and the cities, in order to distress Alexander's army by famine, and lay him under a necessity of quitting Asia. This, though the wisest council that could be given, was opposed by Arsites, a Phrygian Satrapa, who declared he would never consent to let the territories under his government be ravaged. As Memnon was a foreigner, the Persians conceived a suspicion of his integrity, for which reason the worst advice was followed. Alexander continued his march at the head of his heavy artillery, drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry in the wings: the baggage brought up in the rear. When arrived upon the banks of the Granicus, he was advised by Parmenio to pitch his camp there, that the soldiers might have time to rest themselves; and to defer passing the river till next morning, because the enemy would then find it more difficult to prevent him. But Alexander, whose soul was more active than that of Parmenio, declared it as his opinion that they should avail themselves of the terror into which his unexpected arrival had thrown the Persians. The opposite shore was lined by the enemies cavalry, which formed a large front, and stood prepared to dispute the passage of Alexander. The infantry, which
con-

consisted chiefly of Greeks in the Persian service, was posted behind upon an eminence.

The two armies stood a long time in sight of each other, before they joined battle. The Persians waited till the Macedonians should enter the river, thinking that the time of their landing, would be the most favourable opportunity of attacking them. The Lacedæmonians, on the other hand, were chiefly taken up in choosing a proper place to cross over. Alexander having ordered his horse to be brought, commanded the Grandees of his court to follow him. The right wing he commanded himself, the left was commanded by Parmenio. The king having ordered a strong detachment to enter the river, immediately followed it himself, with the remainder of his forces. He then gave directions to Parmenio, to advance with the left wing. The Persians immediately let fly a volley of arrows, and exerted their utmost efforts to prevent the Macedonians from landing. A fierce engagement ensued hereupon, those on one side being bent upon landing, those on the other, upon preventing them. The Macedonians were sorely galled by the showers of arrows poured down upon them by the Persians from the rising ground, and therefore at first, were in some perplexity, those who composed the foremost ranks being mostly slain. Alexander having reinforced

forced them with his best troops, led them on himself, and they being encouraged by his presence, pushed the enemy vigorously, and routed them totally; whereupon the whole army followed after, crossed the river, and the enemy was attacked on all sides. As the commanders of the enemies army, fought in the thickest part of their cavalry, Alexander first turned his whole force there: the battle raged with extraordinary violence near his person, and though only cavalry was engaged, they fought like foot, man to man, without giving ground on either side. The son-in-law of Darius, Spithrobates by name, displayed an uncommon courage in this engagement; accompanied by forty Persian lords of consummate valour, all his relations, he spread terror on every side. Alexander thinking him an adversary worthy of him, clapt spurs to his horse, and rode up to him; they forthwith engaged in single combat, and having, at first, wounded each other slightly by throwing their javelins, Spithrobates drew his sword and attacked Alexander with great fury, but Alexander easily eluded the blow, and thrusting his pike into the face of his adversary, left him dead upon the field. Rosaces, brother to Spithrobates, perceiving what had happened, gave Alexander a blow upon the head with his battle-ax, but this had no other effect, than to beat off his plume, and make a fracture in his helmet. As he was
upon

them upon the point of giving a second blow, Clitus cut off Rosaces's hand with his scimitar, and acquired the greatest glory which a subject can attain, namely, that of saving the life of his king.

As The soldiers of Alexander, fired by the danger to which they had seen their general exposed, continued the fight with redoubled ardour; the two wings of the Persians were soon broke, and put to flight, but Alexander, instead of pursuing them, charged the foot without a moment's delay. These at first stood their ground, but no sooner did they perceive themselves attacked at once by the cavalry, and the Macedonian Phalanx, (which had by that time crossed the river,) but they betook themselves to light, all except the Grecian infantry in the service of Darius. This body of troops having retired to an eminence, applied to Alexander for permission to withdraw in security, but he, incensed at them as traitors to their country, rushed into the midst of them, where his * horse was killed under him. The battle was always hottest near his person: most of the Macedonians who were slain, fell fighting close by him, for the adversaries whom they had to

* This was not the celebrated horse, so well known by the name of Bucephalus.

cope with, were well disciplined, and then rendered dangerous by despair. After a long and obstinate resistance, this whole body was cut off, excepting only two thousand who were taken prisoners. Several of the Persian generals were slain in this engagement. Such was the despair of Arsites, at having by his imprudent advice given occasion to this defeat, that he retired into Phrygia, and there laid violent hands upon himself. On the side of the Persians were slain twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; on the side of the Macedonians, twenty-five of the royal horse were killed at the first onset, about sixty of the ordinary cavalry were slain, and near thirty of the foot. All those who fell upon this occasion, were, by the orders of Alexander, buried with extraordinary marks of honour, and particular gratifications conferred upon their fathers and children. This conqueror, who was no less distinguished for possessing the virtues of humanity than for his valour, took particular care of the wounded, visited them in person, and saw their wounds dressed. He moreover, granted the rites of Sepulture to the noblemen of Persia, and to the Greeks who were slain in the service of Darius; but such Greeks as he had taken prisoners, he caused to be put in irons and sent to work as slaves in Macedonia, for having espoused the cause

d then
a long
dy was
d who
Persian
Such
by his
defeat,
ere laid
side of
d foot,
e; on
ty-five
e first
cavalry
. All
re, by
extra-
ticular
fathers
o was
virtues
k par-
nem in
. He
to the
s who
t such
caused
slaves
cause
of

of the Barbarians against their country, a thing which was altogether inconsistent with the duty which they owed it. Alexander allowed the Greeks their share of the honour of gaining this victory. He made the Athenians a present of three hundred shields, which was part of the spoil taken from the enemy, and upon the remainder of it, he caused these words to be inscribed: *Alexander, son of Philip, with the Greeks, (the Lacedæmonians excepted) won these spoils from the barbarians who inhabit Asia.* On his mother he bestowed most of the gold and silver plate, the purple carpets, and other magnificent pieces of Persian furniture.

After the battle of Granicus, the first military operation that occurs in the reign of Alexander, is the siege of Miletus: before he marched thither with his army, his own fleet, under the command of Nicanor, had lain there for some time, and that of the Persians was not far from the city. The Milesians were of themselves inclined to surrender to Alexander, but Memnon, who immediately after the battle of Granicus, had entered the place with a considerable force, formed a resolution to defend it. Memnon, upon this occasion, behaved in such a manner as might become a general of his courage and conduct. For though the haven was blocked up by the Macedonian fleet, and Alexander's infantry stormed the place with fury, Mem-

non made a vigorous defence, and the city being taken, retired with the garrison into an island, where part of the mercenaries capitulating, were received by Alexander into his service ; whilst Memnon, with the remainder, retired to Halicarnassus. Alexander, being in full possession of Miletus, treated the citizens in a very indulgent manner, but caused all the strangers to be sold for slaves.

No sooner had Alexander possessed himself of Miletus, but all the cities between that and Halicarnassus submitted to him, and the rest thought proper to follow their example as soon as he approached their gates ; but Alexander was well aware that it would be a difficult matter for him to make himself master of the city of Halicarnassus : Memnon, who had been created high admiral and governor of the Lower Asia, by Darius, commanded there ; the city was defended by a numerous garrison. Alexander pitched his camp five stadia from the city : he, with the utmost care provided all things necessary for carrying on the siege, and in the mean time had frequent skirmishes with those of the garrison, who often sallied out against him. Certain citizens of Myndus, whilst Alexander was intent upon besieging Halicarnassus, promised him under hand, to deliver up their city to him, if he would but approach it in the night with a numerous body of troops. Alexander thought this proposition was by no means

means to be rejected, and prepared to go upon the expedition with a considerable body of horse, and a proper number of light armed foot, to second them. At midnight he advanced to the walls of Myndus, according to agreement, but not finding the citizens disposed to perform their promise, and considering that he was not provided either with engines or scaling ladders, as he reckoned upon having the city delivered up to him, he, however, gave directions to the Macedonian Phalanx, to undermine the walls, which they did with such success, that they soon overturned one of its towers, but could not make a breach in the wall itself. The citizens having received succours from the Halicarnassians, made a vigorous defence; so that Alexander, not being able to take it at the first assault, quitted it, and returned to the siege of Halicarnassus. As it was absolutely necessary, in order to carry it on with success, that the wooden towers which they made use of, in order to cast their missive weapons against the besieged, and the engines with which they shook the walls, should be able to advance, he ordered the ditch, which surrounded the walls of the city, to be filled up. This being done, the towers were brought high, but the besieged sallied forth by night, in order to burn both the towers and engines; in this they would have certainly succeeded, had they not been encountered by the Macedo-

nians who were posted to guard the engines, and others who came to their assistance upon hearing the noise of the skirmish; so that having lost several of their men, they were forced to retire with precipitation into the city. Upon this occasion, there fell on the side of the Halicarnassians, one hundred and seventy, on the side of the Macedonians, sixteen were slain, and near three hundred wounded; for as this conflict happened in the night, they were not well able to elude the darts and arrows of their adversaries.

The besieged, for a long time, continued to make an obstinate defence, but at length, Memnon, and the rest of the Persian commanders, reflecting that the place could not long hold out, because part of their walls was already demolished, part upon the point of falling down, and that many of those who defended the city, had been either slain in the several sallies that had been made, or rendered unserviceable by their wounds; they, after mature deliberation, in the night time, set fire to the wooden tower which they had erected to defend them from the enemy's engines, and to the arsenal in which their engines were deposited, as well as to some houses contiguous to the wall; the fire raged thereabouts with great violence, as the wind blew much fire thither from the tower and arsenal. This made some of the townsmen to retire to a castle in an Island, and others to another castle,

castle
Alex
defen
sent
order
to th
in th
havin
been
merc
visea
be a
woul
reduc
the e
whic
razed
H
mari
Alex
mari
city
ing f
who
and v
of A
Mac
Alex
imm
storn
the b
suad

castle, which went by the name of Salmals; Alexander receiving information of this from deserters, though it was almost midnight, he sent a body of Macedonians thither, with orders to put those who set fire to the city, to the sword, but to spare such as they found in their houses. Next morning Alexander having taken a view of the castles which had been seized upon by the Persians, and their mercenary soldiers, thought it was not advisable to lay siege to them, because it would be a work of too much time, and because they would prove of but little service. After the reduction of the city, he therefore ordered the engineers to carry the engines to Tralles, which city he quickly took, and caused to be razed to the ground.

Halicarnassus being demolished, the Marmarians were the next who felt the force of Alexander's conquering arm. The Marmarians inhabited the borders of Lycia; their city they looked upon as impregnable, it being seated amongst rocks. These barbarians, who were strongly attached to the Persians, and very eager for spoil, falling upon the rear of Alexander's army, slew a great number of Macedonians, and took a considerable booty. Alexander, greatly irritated at this behaviour, immediately laid siege to the town, and stormed it for two days successively. Amongst the besieged were several old men, who persuaded them to surrender, but as they were

all unanimous in rejecting this advice, their elders exhorted them to put all those who were unserviceable to death, and, sword in hand, force a passage through the enemy. The young men generally approving of this advice, they each went home, and made a great feast; after having eat and drank cheerfully with their wives and children, they shut the doors of their houses, and then set fire to them. This done, they, though in number but six hundred, sallied out boldly, and forced the Macedonian guard, and gained the mountains.

As soon as the weather permitted the war to be carried on, Alexander having sent part of his forces through the mountains to Perga, led the rest by the sea shore, passing by a promontory, where the way is altogether impassable, except when the north winds blow. At the time of Alexander's march, the wind, which had long been southerly, changed on a sudden, and blew with violence from the north, which made both him and his soldiers believe that they owed their easy passage to the assistance of the Deity. The king, in his march, was met by the ambassadors of the Aspendians, who intreated him not to put a garrison into their city, as they were well disposed to become his faithful subjects: this he readily agreed to, requiring them only to pay fifty talents, and furnish him with the same number of horses as they formerly

formerly did Darius, to these terms they made no objection ; but, whilst Alexander was busy in reducing other neighbouring cities, the Aspendians fortified their city, and retracted the promise of obedience they had made. Hereupon Alexander marched against them without any delay. The city of Aspendus stood mostly upon a high and craggy rock, upon the banks of the river Eurymedon, but the rock is surrounded by a considerable number of houses, which again are surrounded with a wall. Upon the approach of Alexander, the inhabitants of the lower town were seized with dread, and retired precipitately to the upper town, when Alexander saw this, he entered the lower town with his army, and encamped within the walls. The Aspendians perceiving that they had no resource left, sent again to Alexander, intreating him to accept the former conditions. Alexander, not being willing to undertake a long siege, the place being of uncommon strength, was willing to make an accommodation with them ; but at the same time required them to deliver up their chief citizens as hostages ; that the promised number of horses should be delivered directly, and the number of talents doubled ; that they should receive a garrison from him, and pay a yearly tribute to the Macedonians ; and lastly, that the cause concerning the land, of which they had unjustly deprived their neighbours, should be referred to umpires.

Alexander then continued his march to Telmissus, a city strongly fortified, and situated on the summit of a lofty mountain, opposite to which was another of equal height, and a narrow defile between the two. The Telmissians had secured this pass, and if they had defended it properly, they might have prevented the king from passing that way. But Alexander having pitched his camp at the entrance of the passage about evening, as if with a view of attacking them the next morning, he found the next day that all the Telmissians had retired into their city. Alexander did not, however, think proper to lay siege to Telmissus, on account of its great strength, but continued his march through Phrygia, with a resolution to assemble all his forces at Gordium, to which place Parmenio had marched before, by his order, as well as Ptolemy and his colleagues. On his march he was met by deputies from the Athenians, who humbly requested him to dismiss such of their citizens as he had taken fighting for the Persians, but this Alexander, declined till the war was over, telling them, he would then be very ready to hear what they could alledge in favour of their citizens.

Alexander arriving some time after at Ancyra, a city of Galatia, the province of Palphlagonia received his yoke; continuing his conquests, he subdued Cappadocia as far as the river Halys, and then marched on
in

in o
thre
called
of A
The
prife
to a
recei
been
confi
did r
in th
arme
a de
long
the p
Alex
it, a
army
A
infor
fus,
that
the c
this,
utmo
to p
marc
ill, th
fay,
ver C
he fe

in order to possess himself of Cilicia. It had three famous passes, the first at its entrance, called the gate, the second called the streights of Amanus, the third near the bay of Issus. The first of these Alexander chose to surprise by a quick march, but when he came to a part of it called the camp of Cyrus, he received information that the Persians had been beforehand with him, having sent a considerable body of troops to defend it. He did not however drop his design, but marched in the night time with his horse and light-armed foot to the mouth of the pass, with a design to attack it in the morning. But long before day-break, the enemy evacuated the place, and betook themselves to flight. Alexander, without delay, took possession of it, and the next day marched with his whole army into Cilicia.

At his entrance into the province, he was informed, that Arsames, who governed Tarsus, was upon the point of quitting it, and that the inhabitants feared he would plunder the city before he abandoned it. To prevent this, Alexander marched thither with the utmost expedition, and got there time enough to prevent it. However, this expeditious march fatigued him greatly, and he fell so ill, that his life was despaired of; though some say, he got this illness by bathing in the river Cydnus. Having recovered his health, he sent Parmenio to seize the second streights,

C 5

and

and himself reduced several neighbouring places. Alexander, whilst he was at Sali, entertained his army with very magnificent feasts and shows, on hearing that the generals of Darius had been beat, and great conquests made on the Hellespont by Ptolemy and Asander, two of his own generals. Being afterwards informed that Darius had passed through Syria, and was within two days march of the streights, he immediately advanced his army to meet him, and got into the neighbourhood of the city of Myriandrus; whilst Darius reached the city of Issus, and put most of the Macedonians there to the sword. Alexander, who expected that Darius would have stopt in the open part of the country, was surprised to hear he had quitted it, and was got behind him. He therefore prepared for repassing the mountains the next morning, which they began at day-break. The right wing with a battalion of heavy-armed troops, and the targeteers commanded by Nicanor, the son of Parmenio, keeping close to the mountains, as did the left wing to the sea-shore, commanded by Parmenio, that the Persians might not surround them. Cœnus and Perdicas, with their corps, marched next, reaching to the Macedonian phalanx, whilst three other bodies marched on the left, under their several generals, Amyntas, Ptolemy, and Meleager; the foot appointed

appointed for their support, were commanded by Craterus.

Darius, finding he wanted room to draw up his army, ordered the twenty thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse, that had passed the Penarus, to repass that river. Thirty thousand Greek mercenaries, with sixty thousand heavy-armed troops, there not being room to draw up more, composed the first line. Towards the mountains on the left, were twenty thousand men, which from the hollowing situation of the place, were brought quite behind the right wing of Alexander. The remainder of the troops were formed into close and useless lines, behind the Greek mercenaries, to the amount of six hundred thousand men. Darius now recalled the horse who had repassed the river, posted part of them opposite the Macedonians, commanded by Parmenio, and the others towards the mountains, but finding they were useless there, he ordered most of them to remove to the right, and then, as was usual with the kings of Persia, took upon himself the command of the main body. Alexander observing that the chief of the Persian horse, were opposed to his left wing, ordered the Thessalian horse privately to remove thither, placing in their stead some brigades of horse, detached from the van, and some light-armed troops; and then, to favour the center of his army, which this new

disposition had weakened, he gave orders, that the advanced posts on the left of the enemy, which he feared most, should be attacked at the beginning of the battle; and, when they were easily driven from them, he recalled as many troops as were wanting to reinforce the center.

Thus were both armies disposed before the battle of Issus*, when Alexander ordered his army to move slowly, that his men might take breath, not expecting to engage till late, for Darius still remained on the other side of the river, to keep the advantageous post he possessed; he also defended such parts of the shore as were not craggy with palisades; this made the Macedonians conclude he feared a defeat. At length the two armies came in sight, when Alexander rode along the ranks, called the principal officers by their names, of both his own forces, and of the foreigners, and exhorted the soldiers to signalize themselves; adapting his address by turns to the peculiar genius and disposition of each nation, and when he had ended, the whole army saluted him with a general shout, and expressed their eager desire of being immediately led to action. Alexander,

* Fought the fourth year of Alexander's reign. Year of the world 3672; before Christ, 332.

as I before observed, advanced slowly at first, but being now within bow-shot of the enemy, he ordered the right wing to enter the river, that they might surprize the Barbarians, come sooner to a close engagement, and be less exposed to the arrows of the enemy.

And thus the engagement begun, when both parties fought with the greatest bravery and resolution, charging sword in hand, aimed at each other's face; and a dreadful slaughter followed. As to Alexander, he both commanded like a general, and fought like a private soldier, endeavouring all he could at the honour of killing Darius with his own hand, who was very conspicuous, being on a high chariot, which, though it gave him the opportunity of animating his own men, by his presence, yet greatly exposed him to the enemy. And now the battle became yet more furious and bloody, each side fighting with incredible bravery; when a great many of the Persian nobility were slain. Alexander was very near attacking Darius himself, but being observed by Oxarthes, his brother, he rushed before the chariot, with the horse he commanded, and prevented Alexander's design. The horses which drew the chariot of Darius, being much wounded, pranced about, and shook their yoke so violently, that they were very near overturning the king, who, apprehensive he should fall alive

alive into the enemy's hand, leaped down from his chariot, and mounted another. This being observed by the rest, they threw down their arms, and fled as fast they could. Alexander was wounded in the engagement in his thigh, but without any bad consequence. Whilst part of the Macedonian infantry, who were on the right, were pursuing the advantage they had got over the Persians, the other part met with great opposition from the Greeks, who observing that this body of infantry were no longer covered by the right wing of Alexander's army, that being engaged in pursuing the fugitive Persians, came and attacked it in flank; this brought on a bloody engagement, and victory was a long time dubious. The Greeks aimed at forcing the Macedonians into the river, and strove to recover the disorder of their own left wing. On the part of the Macedonians, no less bravery appeared, who did their utmost to preserve the advantage Alexander had before obtained, and to maintain the reputation of their phalanx, which had always been looked upon as unconquerable. The courage of the Greeks and Macedonians was much heightened by that jealousy which subsisted between them. In the army of Alexander, Ptolemy, the son of Seleucus, and an hundred and twenty principal officers, after having nobly distinguished themselves by their valour, were

were slain. The right, which proved victorious under Alexander, having defeated all its opponents, moved round to attack those Greeks who had engaged the Macedonian phalanx, and falling upon them with great bravery in their flank, entirely routed them.

The Persian horse in the right wing, at the first attack, not waiting till the Macedonians advanced to them, had passed the river, falling upon the Thessalian horse, and broke several of its squadrons; when the rest, to avoid the fury of the charge, and to force the Persians to quit their ranks, feigned a retreat. This so animated the Persians, that they incautiously advanced, as if assured of victory, and put themselves into disorder, which the Thessalians taking advantage of, instantly turned about, and renewed the attack with great bravery, the Persians as nobly defending themselves; till Darius was at last obliged to fly, and the Greeks fell by their victorious phalanx. The Persian horse being routed, determined the victory in favour of the Macedonians. However, the Persian horse suffered much in their retreat, from the great weight of the arms of their riders, and being obliged to retire in great numbers, and in much disorder, through several passes, they bruised and unhorsed one another; being all the while vigorously pursued by the Thessalian cavalry; so that they
lost

lost a great many men. I have already mentioned that Darius himself fled ; this was as soon as his left wing was broke ; having got to a craggy, ragged place, he mounted on a horse, and threw away his bow, shield, and royal mantle. As to Alexander, he did not attempt to pursue him, till his phalanx had defeated the Greeks, and the Persian horse were put to flight, which secured Darius's retreat.

After the battle, eight thousand Greeks and their officers, who belonged to the Persian monarch's army, retreated cross the mountains to Tripoly, in Syria, where they found the vessels that had brought them from Lesbos ; part of these they fitted for their service, and, to prevent a retreat, burned the remainder. Though the Barbarians had begun the engagement with great bravery, yet they behaved basely afterwards, and fled different ways, regardless of every thing, but their own safety. Some took to the high road leading to Persia, others fled into woods and mountains, and a few only retreated to their camp, which they found had been taken and plundered by the Macedonians.

In this camp, were the mother of Darius, Syfigambis, and his queen, who was his sister, two of the king's daughters, a son of his, then a child, and some ladies belonging to the court. As to the others, with part of
the

the king's treasure, and such things as contributed only to the purposes of pomp and luxury, they had been already removed to Damascus. There were only about three thousand talents found in the camp; but Parmenio, when he afterwards took Damascus, got possession of the rest of the treasure.

Night coming on, Alexander, being weary of pursuing Darius, and thinking he should not be able to get up with him, returned back to the enemy's camp. The loss of the Persians was very great, Q. Curtius and Arrian, say, an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; whilst that of Alexander, was but a very little. The behaviour of Alexander to the royal captives, was truly noble and humane, insomuch that nothing but the indelible remembrance of what they had been, could make them unhappy. His prudence and resolution were so great, that having heard that the wife of Darius was very beautiful, he made a firm resolution never to see her.

He afterwards marched towards Syria. In the mean time, Parmenio led on toward Damascus; but whilst he was advancing thither, the treacherous governor of that city, sent a letter to Alexander, offering to deliver up to him all the treasures and other rich stores belonging to Darius. But to conceal his treason from the inhabitants, he told them he was not safe in the city, and must there-

therefore remove from thence, he accordingly, in the morning, packed up all the money and other valuables, and loaded a number of men with them, and went with them, under a pretence of securing them, though his true design was to convey them to the enemy; of this Parmenio was apprized, having opened the governor's letter to Alexander. As soon as the men who carried the treasure, spied part of the army belonging to Parmenio, they threw down their loads in a fright, and fled, as did also the governor and the soldiers who went to guard the treasure. The fields were instantly covered with immense riches; all the gold and silver designed for the pay of Darius's army; the splendid equipages of the nobility; golden vases and bridles, magnificent tents, carriages abandoned by their drivers; in short, those prodigious riches, which had been gathered together through many ages, became in an instant an easy prey to the enemy. But a more affecting scene was the sight of the wives of the satraps, and grandees of Persia, dragging their little children after them; among these, were three young princesses, daughters of Ochus, who was king of Persia before Darius, a niece to Darius; the wife of Artabazus, the greatest lord of the court, and his son Ilioneus; besides some other noble persons, who were all taken prisoners, and the city was also taken; besides money and plate, which was afterwards

coined,

coined, amounting to a prodigious sum. There were taken prisoners, thirty thousand men, seven thousand beasts laden with baggage, three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius's concubines, all excellently skilled in music, and four hundred and ninety-two officers, whose business was to regulate and prepare every thing for entertainments; particularly wreaths, perfumes, essences, to dress viands, to make pies, and all things in the pastry way; to preside over the wine cellars, and to give out the wine, and the like kind of offices; to such a height of luxury was the court of Persia then arrived.

But to return to Darius, whom we left flying before the conqueror; he, having rode swiftly the whole night, attended only by a very few persons, arrived at Sochus, a city two, or three, days journey from Issus, where the late battle was fought. Here he assembled the small remains of his army, about four thousand men, Persians and foreigners. From hence he made haste to reach to Thapsacus, that he might have the Euphrates between him and Alexander. As to the latter, as he advanced into Syria, most of its cities surrendered to him. At Marathes, he received a letter from Darius, in which he stiled himself king, without bestowing that title on Alexander; and expressed himself with great pride and haughtiness; which Alexander answered in the same manner.

The

The next considerable undertaking of Alexander, was, that of the siege of Tyre; which I shall not particularize here, as the reader has already had an account of it *.

After the destruction of Tyre, Alexander marched to Jerusalem, being exasperated against the Jews, because they had supplied the Tyrians with corn and other provisions, and had refused to submit to him, when he summoned them so to do; honestly answering, that they had taken an oath of fidelity to Darius, and therefore would never acknowledge any other king, as long as he lived. But the Samaritans acted very differently, for they readily submitted to Alexander, and had sent him eight thousand men to assist at the reduction of Tyre, and elsewhere. Alexander, highly offended at this answer of the Jews, determined to treat them with the utmost severity. But as he advanced to the city, Jaddus, the high priest, by the order of God, revealed to him in a vision the night before, went out of the city to meet Alexander, clothed in his pontifical robes, with all the priests dressed also in their vestments, and all the rest clothed in white. As soon as Alexander saw the high priest, he was struck with reverence for him, on whose mitre and forehead, a golden

* Vol. II. of this work, page 146—155.

of A-plate was fixed, on which the name of God
Tyre; was written. The king advanced to the
as the high priest with much respect, bowed his
body, adored the august name upon his front,
and saluted him who wore it, with religious
veneration.

This extraordinary behaviour, he thus explained to Parmenio: "I do not," said he, "adore the high-priest, but the God whose minister he is; for whilst I was at Dia, in Macedonia, my mind wholly fixed on the great design of the Persian war, as I was revolving the methods how to conquer Asia, this very man, dressed in the same robes, appeared to me in a dream; exhorted me to banish every fear, bid me cross the Hellespont boldly; and assured me, that God would march at the head of my army, and give me the victory over that of the Persians."

Alexander also declared, that when he saw his priest, he knew him by his habit, his stature, his air, and his face, to be the same person whom he had seen in his dream; that he was firmly persuaded, it was by the command, and under the immediate conduct of heaven, that he had undertaken this war; that he was sure he should overcome Darius hereafter, and destroy the empire of the Persians; and that this was the reason why he adored this God, the person of his priest. Alexander then embraced the high-priest and all his brethren;

then

then walking in the midst of them, entered Jerusalem, where he offered sacrifices to God in the temple, as directed by the high-priest, who afterwards showed him those prophecies of Daniel, concerning himself*. The joy and gladness with which Alexander was filled, upon hearing such circumstantial and advantageous promises, disposed him to be very favourable to the Jews, and granted them, at their request, to live according to their own laws, and to be exempt every seventh year from the usual tribute, as they could not, on that year, sow their land, according to their law, and consequently could have no harvest.

* The reader, if he pleases, may consult them at his leisure; Dan. vii. 4, 5, 6. xi. 2, 3, 4. viii. Alexander is particularly intended, vii. 6, by a spotted leopard, with four heads and four wings, representing the mixture of good and bad qualities in him, his rashness and impetuosity, his rapid conquests, flying with the swiftness of a bird of prey, rather than marching with the weight of an army, laden with the whole equipage of war; supported by the valour and capacity of his army and of his generals, four of whom, after having assisted him in the conquest of the empire of the Medes and Persians; divided it among themselves; the monarchy of the Greeks is also represented under the symbol of a prodigious large he-goat.

Alexander then marched for Ægypt, but as he found Gaza was the only inlet into that country, he determined on the siege of it. This city had a very strong garrison, commanded by Betes, one of Darius's eunuchs, a brave and faithful servant to his master, and who so vigorously defended the place, that although every art of war was employed against it, the siege lasted two months. This so enraged Alexander, who had received two wounds, that he, forgetting his former moderation and humanity, when he got possession of the city, cut ten thousand men to pieces, and sent all the rest, with their wives and children, into slavery. As to the governor, he ordered a hole to be bored thro' each of his heels, when a rope being put through them, and this being tied to a chariot, he ordered his soldiers to drag him round the city, till he died.

Seven days afterwards, he reached Pelusium, where he was met by a great number of Ægyptians, ready to acknowledge him for their sovereign; so great was their hatred to the Persians, and their desire of changing their yoke for another.

Mazæus, judging it impossible to defend the city of Memphis, which he governed, against the great power of Alexander, opened the gates to receive him, and delivered up

eight

eight hundred talents*, and all the king's treasure; thus Alexander became master of Ægypt, with little, or no, difficulty. He afterwards determined to visit the temple of Jupiter, and, passing down the river Memphis, till he came to the sea, he kept along the coasts.

After having passed by Canopus, he observed, opposite to the island of Pharos, a convenient spot for a city; he accordingly ordered Dinocrates, the architect, to build a city there, which, after his own name, he called, Alexandria, and which in time became the capital of the kingdom. He at length arrived at the temple of Jupiter Ammon, after having led his army a very fatiguing journey of sixteen hundred stadia, mostly through barren deserts, in which they suffered much, mostly from extreme thirst. Here his vanity caused him to have himself declared the son of Jupiter, and then returned into Ægypt, and wintered at Memphis.

† The next spring, having settled his affairs in Ægypt, he led his army into the east, to pursue Darius; and at length arrived at

* About one hundred and forty thousand pounds.

† *Histoire ancienne, par M. Rollin.*

Tha
cross
ney
to c
alrea
but fi
their
whol
himse
assem
rous
towa
plains
that t
tropar
at th
likew
verno
vent
to la
that n
late.

Ale
which

* T
numbe
with t
account
the Per

Vor

Thapsacus, where he passed a bridge, that lay cross the Euphrates, and continued his journey towards the Tigris *, where he expected to come up with the enemy. Darius had already made overtures of peace to him twice, but finding at last, that there were no hopes of their concluding one, unless he resigned the whole empire to him, he therefore prepared himself again for battle. For this purpose, he assembled in Babylon, an army half as numerous again as that he had at Issus, marched towards Nineveh : his forces covered all the plains of Mesopotamia. Advice being brought that the enemy was not far off, he caused Satriapates, colonel of the cavalry, to advance at the head of a thousand chosen horse ; and likewise gave six thousand to Mazæus, governor of the province ; all who were to prevent Alexander from crossing the river, and to lay waste the country through which that monarch was to pass : but he arrived too late.

Alexander sounded those parts of the river which were fordable, and there the water,

* The most rapid river in the east ; a great number of rivulets run into it, bringing down with them great stones ; it is called Tigris, on account of its prodigious rapidity ; Tigris being the Persian name for an arrow.

at the entrance, came up to the horses bellies, and in the middle, to their breasts. Having drawn up his infantry in the form of a half-moon, and posted his cavalry on the two wings, they advanced to the current of the water, with no great difficulty, carrying their arms over their heads. The king walked on foot among the infantry, and was the first who appeared on the opposite shore, where he pointed out with his hand the ford to the soldiers; it not being possible for him to make them hear him. But it was with the greatest difficulty they kept themselves above water, because of the slipperiness of the stones, and the impetuosity of the stream. Such soldiers as not only carried their arms, but their clothes also, were much more fatigued; for these being unable to go forward, were carried into whirlpools, unless they threw away their burdens. At the same time, the great number of clothes floating up and down, beat away the burdens of several; and, as every man endeavoured to catch at his own things, they annoyed one another more than the river did. It was to no purpose that the king commanded them, with a loud voice, to save nothing but their arms; and assured them, that he himself would compensate their other losses; for not one of them would listen to his admonitions or orders, so great was the noise and tumult. At last,

last
wh
stre
but
T
near
reac
abo
firs
quit
bloo
grea
succ
ent
relig
with
displ
they
the
pose
lend
now
that
man
and
cour
to p
T
surre
coul
the
such

last, they all passed over that part of the ford where the water was shallowest, and the stream less impetuous, recovering, however, but a small part of their baggage.

The king, having encamped two days near the river, commanded his soldiers to be ready for marching on the morrow; but about nine, or ten, in the evening, the moon first lost its light, and appeared afterwards quite sullied, and, as it were, tintured with blood. Now, as this happened just before a great battle was going to be fought, the doubtful success of which filled the army with sufficient disquietude; they were first struck with a religious awe, and, being afterwards seized with fear, they cried out, "That heaven displayed the marks of its anger; and that they were dragged, against the will of it, to the extremities of the earth; that rivers opposed their passage; that the stars refused to lend their usual light; and that they could now see nothing but deserts and solitudes; that, merely to satisfy the ambition of one man, so many thousands shed their blood; and that for a man who contemned his own country, disowned his father, and pretended to pass for a God."

These murmurs were rising to an open insurrection, when Alexander, whom nothing could intimidate, summoned the officers of the army into his tent, and commanded such of the Ægyptian soothsayers, as were

best skilled in the knowledge of stars, to declare what they thought of this phenomenon. These knew very well the natural causes of eclipses of the moon; but, without entering into physical inquiries, they contented themselves with saying, that the sun was on the side of the Greeks, and the moon, on that of the Persians; and that, whenever it suffered an eclipse, it always threatened the latter with some grievous calamity, whereof they mentioned several examples, all which they gave as true and indisputable. The answer made by the Ægyptians being dispersed among the soldiers, it revived their hopes and courage.

The king, purposely to take advantage of this ardour, began his march after midnight. On his right hand lay the Tigris, and on his left, the Gordyæan mountains. At day-break the scouts, whom he had sent to view the enemy, brought word that Darius was marching towards him; upon which, he immediately drew up his forces in battle-array, and set himself at their head. However, it was afterwards found that they were only a detachment of a thousand horse, that was going upon discoveries, and which soon retired to the main army. Nevertheless, news was brought to the king, that Darius was now but an hundred and fifty † stadia

† Seven or eight leagues.

from the place where they then were. The king ordered his army to march forward.

Although Darius had twice sued in vain for peace, and imagined that he had nothing to trust to but his arms; nevertheless, being overcome by the advantageous circumstances which had been told him concerning Alexander's tenderness and humanity towards his family, he dispatched ten of his chief relations, who were to offer him fresh conditions of peace more advantageous than the former; and to thank him for the kind treatment he had given his family.

The ambassadors having returned back, and told Darius that he must now prepare for battle, the latter pitched his camp near a village, called Gaugamela, and the river Bumela, in a plain at a considerable distance from Arbela. He had before levelled the spot which he pitched upon, for the field of battle, in order that his chariots and cavalry might have room to move in; recollecting, that his fighting in the streights of Cilicia had lost him the battle fought there. At the same time, he had prepared † crows feet to annoy the enemy's horse.

† Crows feet, is an instrument composed of iron spikes. Several of these are laid in fields, through which the cavalry is to march, in order that they may run into the horses feet.

Alexander, upon hearing this news, continued four days in the place he then was, to rest his army, and surrounded his camp with trenches and palisades; for he was determined to leave all his baggage, and the useless soldiers in it, and march the remainder against the enemy, with no other equipage than the arms they carried. Accordingly, he set out about nine in the evening, in order to fight Darius at day-break; who, upon this advice, had drawn up his army in order of battle. Alexander also marched in battle array; for both armies were within two, or three, leagues of each other. When he was arrived at the mountains, where he could discover the enemy's whole army, he halted; and, having assembled his general officers, as well Macedonians as foreigners, he debated whether they should engage immediately, or pitch their camp in that place. The latter opinion being followed, because it was judged proper for them to view the field of battle, and the manner in which the enemy was drawn up, the army encamped in the same order in which it had marched; during which, Alexander, at the head of his infantry, lightly armed, and his royal regiments, marched round the plain in which the battle was to be fought.

Alexander, who in the crisis of affairs used always to consult soothsayers, observing very exactly, whatever they enjoined, in order to obtain

obta
self
succ
con
repo
shut
som
up
in h
head
the l
and
Alex
rema
rals
tent,
surpr
whic
diers
havin
prised
sleep
in w
" ho
" fo
comi
Istme
his h
exhor
TH
two

obtain the favour of the Gods, finding himself upon the point of fighting a battle, the success of which, was to give empire to the conqueror, sent for Aristander, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. He then shut himself up with the soothsayer, to make some secret sacrifices; and afterwards offered up victims to Fear. The soothsayer, dressed in his vestments, holding vervain, with his head veiled, first repeated the prayers which the king was to address to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Victory. The whole being ended, Alexander went to bed to repose himself the remaining part of the night; when his generals were assembled at day-break before his tent, to receive his orders, they were greatly surprised to find he was not awake; upon which, they themselves commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment. Parmenio having at last awaked him, and seemed surprised to find him in so calm and sweet a sleep, just as he was going to fight a battle, in which his whole fortune lay at stake; "how could it be possible," said Alexander, "for us not to be calm, since the enemy is coming to deliver himself into our hands?" Immediately he took up his arms, mounted his horse, and rode up and down the ranks; exhorting the troops to behave gallantly.

There was a great difference between the two armies with respect to numbers, but

much more so, with regard to courage. That of Darius consisted at least of six hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand horse; and the other, of no more than forty thousand foot, and seven, or eight, thousand horse: but the latter was all fire and strength; whereas on the side of the Persians, it was a prodigious assemblage of men, not of soldiers; an empty phantom rather than a real army.

Both sides were disposed in very near the same array. The forces were drawn up in two lines, the cavalry on the two wings, and the infantry in the middle; the one and the other being under the particular conduct of the chiefs of each of the different nations that composed them; and commanded, in general, by the principal crown-officers. The front of the battle, under Darius, was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with scythes, and with fifteen elephants, that king taking his post in the center of the first line. Besides the guards, which were the flower of his forces, he also had fortified himself with the Grecian infantry, whom he had drawn up near his person; believing this body only capable of opposing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army spread over a much greater space of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to surround, and to charge them at one and the same time, both in front and flank.

But

But Alexander had guarded against this, by giving orders to the commanders of the second line, that in case they should be charged behind, to face about to that side; or else to draw up their troops in form of a gibbet, and cover the wings, in case the enemy should charge them in flank. He had posted, in the front of his first line, the greatest part of his bow-men, slingers, hurlers of javelins, in order that these might make head against the chariots armed with scythes; and frighten the horses, by discharging at them a shower of arrows, javelins and stones. Those who led on the wings, were ordered to extend them as wide as possible; but in such a manner, as not to weaken the main body. As for the baggage and the captives, among whom were Darius's mother and children, they were left in the camp, under a small guard. Parmenio commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and Alexander the right:

When the two armies came in view, Alexander, who had been shown the several places where the crows feet were hid, extended more and more towards the right to avoid them; and the Persians advanced forward in proportion. Darius, being afraid lest the Macedonians should draw him from the spot of ground he had levelled, and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, commanded the cavalry in his left wing,

which spread much further than that of the enemy's right, to march right forward, and wheel about upon the Macedonians in flank, to prevent them from extending their troops further. Then Alexander dispatched against them, the body of horse in his service commanded by Menidas; but, as these were not able to make head against the enemy, because of their prodigious numbers, he reinforced them with the Pæoneans, whom Aretas commanded, and with the foreign cavalry. Besides the advantage of numbers, they had that also of their coats of mail, which secured themselves, and their horses much more. Alexander's cavalry was prodigiously annoyed: however, they marched to the charge with great bravery, and at last put them to flight.

Upon this, the Persians opposed the chariots armed with scythes, against the Macedonian phalanx, in order to break it, but with little success. The noise which the soldiers, who were lightly armed, made, by striking their swords against their bucklers, and the arrows which flew on all sides, frightened the horses, and made a great number of them turn back against their own troops. Others, laying hold of the horses' bridles, pulled the riders down, and cut them to pieces. Part of the chariots drove between the battalions, which opened to make way for

for them, as they had been ordered to do, by which means they did little or no execution.

Alexander, seeing Darius set his whole army in motion in order to charge him, employed a stratagem to encourage his soldiers. When the battle was at the hottest, and the Macedonians were in the greatest danger, Aristander, the soothsayer, clothed in his white robes, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advances among the combatants, as he had been instructed by the king; and, crying that he saw an eagle hovering over Alexander's head, a sure omen of victory, he showed with his finger, the pretended bird to the soldiers; who, relying upon the sincerity of the soothsayer, fancied they also saw it; and thereupon renewed the attack with greater chearfulness and ardour than ever. Then the king, perceiving that Aretas (after having charged the cavalry, and put them into disorder, upon their advancing to surround his right wing,) had begun to break the foremost ranks of the main body of the Barbarian army, he marched after Aretas, with the flower of his troops, when he quite broke the enemy's left wing; which had already begun to give way; and without pursuing the forces which he had thrown into disorder, he wheeled to the left, in order to fall upon the body in which Darius had posted himself. The presence of the two kings

inspired both sides with new vigour. Darius was mounted on a chariot, and Alexander on horseback; both surrounded with their bravest officers and soldiers, whose only endeavour was to save the lives of their respective princes, at the hazard of their own. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Alexander having wounded Darius's equerry with a javelin, the Persians, as well as the Macedonians, imagined that the king was killed; upon which the former breaking aloud into the most dismal sounds, the whole army was seized with the greatest consternation. The relations of Darius, who were at the left hand, fled away with the guards, and so abandoned the chariot; but those who were at his right, took him into the center of their body. Then Darius turning about his chariot, fled with the rest; and the conqueror was now wholly employed in pursuing him.

Whilst all this was doing in the right wing of the Macedonians, where the victory was not doubtful; the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger. A detachment of the Persian, Indian and Parthian horse, which were the best in all the Persian army, having broke through the infantry on the left, advanced to the very baggage. The moment the captives saw them arrive in the camp, they armed themselves with every thing that came first to hand, and, reinforcing their cavalry, rushed upon the Macedonians,

nians, who were now charged both before and behind.

The general officers, who commanded the infantry which formed the center of the second line, seeing the enemy were going to make themselves masters of the camp and baggage, made a half-turn to the right in obedience to the orders which had been given; and fell upon the Persians behind, many of whom were cut to pieces, and the rest obliged to retire; but, as these were horse, the Macedonian foot could not follow them.

Soon after, Parmenio himself was exposed to much greater peril. Mazæus, having rushed upon him with all his cavalry, charged the Macedonians in flank, and began to surround them. Immediately Parmenio sent Alexander advice of the danger he was in; declaring, that in case he were not immediately succoured, it would be impossible for him to keep his soldiers together. The prince was actually pursuing Darius, and, fancying he was almost come up with him, rode with the utmost speed. He flattered himself, that he should absolutely put an end to the war, in case he could but seize his person. But, upon this news, he turned about, in order to succour his left wing; shuddering, with rage, to see his prey and victory torn in this manner from him; and complaining against fortune, for having favoured Darius more in his

his flight, than himself in the pursuit of that monarch.

Alexander, in his march, met the enemy's horse who had plundered the baggage; all which were returning in good order, and retiring back, not as soldiers who had been defeated, but almost as if they had gained the victory. And now the battle became more obstinate than before; for, the Barbarians marching close in columns, not in order of battle, but that of a march, it was very difficult to break through them; and they did not amuse themselves with throwing javelins, nor with wheeling about, according to their usual custom; but man engaging against man, each did all that lay in his power to unhorse his enemy. Alexander lost threescore of his guards in this attack. Hephæstion, Coenus, and Menidas, were wounded in it; however, he triumphed on this occasion, and all the Barbarians were cut to pieces, except such as forced their way through his squadrons.

During this, news had been brought to Mazæus that Darius was defeated; upon which, being greatly alarmed and dejected by the ill success of that monarch, though the advantage was entirely on his side, he ceased to charge the enemy, who were now in disorder, so briskly as before. Parmenio could not conceive how it came to pass, that
the

the battle, which before was carried on so warmly, should slacken on a sudden: however, he observed to them, that the terror which spread throughout the whole army, was the forerunner of their defeat; and fired them with the notion how glorious it would be for them to put the last hand to the victory. Upon his exhortations, they recovered their former hopes and bravery; when, transformed into other men, they gave their horses the rein, and charged the enemy with so much fury, as threw them into the greatest disorder, and obliged them to fly. Alexander came up that instant, and, overjoyed to find the scale turned in his favour, and the enemy entirely defeated, he renewed (in concert with Parmenio) the pursuit of Darius. He rode as far as Arbela, where he fancied he should come up with that monarch and all his baggage; but Darius had only just passed by it, and left his treasure a prey to the enemy, with his bow and shield.

Such was the success of this famous battle which gave empire to the conqueror. According to Arrian, the Persians lost three hundred thousand men, besides those who were taken prisoners; which, at least, is a proof the loss was very great on their side. That of Alexander was very inconsiderable, he not losing, according to the last-mentioned author, twelve hundred men, most of whom

whom were horse. * This engagement was fought in the month of † October, about the same time, two years before, that the battle of Issus was fought. As Gaugamela in Assyria, the spot where the two armies engaged, was a small place of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that city being nearest to the field of battle. Thus was the fate of Asia decided,

Darius ‡ having retired into Media, Alexander thought it neither necessary nor practicable to pursue him at that time, and therefore immediately marched into Babylon, and as he drew near, Mazæus, the governor of it marched out to meet him and surrendered up the city to him. This revolution was very agreeable to the Babylonians, who hated the

* Year of the world 3674. before Christ 330 years.

† The month called by the Greeks Boedromion, answers partly to our month of October.

‡ I cannot here help mentioning an extraordinary instance of humanity, in this unhappy monarch, during his flight, having passed the river Lycus, his attendants prudently advised him to break down the bridge, to prevent the enemy's pursuit; but he, reflecting how many of his own men were hastening to pass over the same bridge, replied, that he had rather leave an open way to a pursuing enemy, than shut it to a flying friend.

Persians.

Perfians, and who testified their joy at meeting the conqueror, by the very valuable presents they made him. Thus he entered the city at the head of his whole army, as though he had been marching against an enemy. Having staid here thirty days he quitted the city, and in two days march reached Susa, where he was received in the same manner as at Babylon. Here the governor delivered up to him fifty thousand talents in bullion, and forty thousand in ready money, and all the king's furniture, of an immense value, and other treasures. From Susa, he went on into the country of the Uxians, where Mandates, more faithful to his master Darius, than the other governors, made a vigorous opposition, which greatly provoked Alexander; but he forgave him at the request of Sisygambis, the mother of Darius, whose neice he had married; and restored him to his dignity, and left the city untouched, and the citizens in the full enjoyment of their liberty and privileges.

Alexander then ordered Parmenio to march with the Thessalian horse, the royal brigade, and the mercenary foot, with the carriages and baggage, through the ordinary open road against the enemy; whilst he with the Macedonian foot, the light-armed troops, and a body of horse and archers, marched over the mountains to the Persian streights. Arioparzanes had fortified these with a strong tower.

tower flanked with towers, and was himself posted behind, to defend the passage, with forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horsemen. Alexander being informed that there was another, but very difficult way, he left Craterus at the camp, with orders to scale the wall as soon as he should perceive that he had passed the streights and was ready to attack the Persians. He then marched, by night, an hundred furlongs passed a river, and at day-break surprised the first guards, put them and those of the second post, to the sword; this prevented Ariobarzanes from having any notice of his arrival till surprised by him in his camp. As soon as Craterus heard the trumpet sound, he attacked the wall. As to the Persians, they were so greatly alarmed that they would have fled if they could; but this was not done; for Ptolemy with three thousand foot, seized the wall; Alexander attacked them in front, as did Craterus behind. The Persians were thrown into great perplexity, able to do very little, and were most of them killed. A few of the horse escaped into the mountains with Ariobarzanes. Alexander then marched for Persia, and got to the capital; he seized the treasures of Cyrus at Pasargadæ, and made Phrafaortes governor of Persia. When he came to Persepolis, he met with no opposition, gave the city up to the soldiers to be plundered, and then set fire to the palace, the most magnificent in the world;

an action highly unworthy of him. But he had first taken out of it, an hundred and twenty thousand talents, and sent them away upon camels and mules. During his stay here, he is said to have indulged himself in great luxury and debauchery. But hearing afterwards that Darius remained at Ecbatana, he marched hastily thither; but he was informed, Darius had removed five days before his arrival, to the remotest provinces of his empire.

Alexander afterwards renewed his pursuit after the king, when having reached the city of Rhages, a day's journey from the Caspian streights, he was informed that Darius had passed them some time before, he therefore stopped here for five days. He then prepared for a long march; as soon as he was entered Parthia, he received intelligence, that Bessus and Nabarzanes had conspired against Darius, and designed to seize him. He then advanced further, with only part of his army, when he was informed that Darius had been seized by the traitors; that Bessus had caused him to be shut up in a close cart, which he had sent before, that he might be more sure of his person; and that the whole army, except Artabazus, and the Greeks who had taken another route, acknowledged Bessus for their general: Alexander therefore hastened his march. As soon as he came in sight of the enemy, most of them fled, and because

because Darius refused to follow them, **Bessus** and those who were with him, discharging their darts at the unhappy captive king, left him wallowing in his blood, to the mercy of the Macedonians, they then separated different ways, whilst Alexander pursued them. In the mean time, the horses, which drew the cart in which Darius was, stopped of their own accord, the drivers having been killed by Bessus, at a village about four furlongs from the highway. At which place, **Polystratus**, a Macedonian, was refreshing himself at a fountain. Who, as he was filling his helmet with water, heard the groans of a dying man, observing the cart, he went up to it, and saw Darius in it, very near expiring, he feebly asked for water, which the noble Persian instantly supplied him with. The king having drunk, turned to the nobleman, and told him with a faint voice, that, in his wretched condition, it was some comfort, that his last words would not be lost. He then desired him to return his hearty thanks to Alexander, for his kindness to his wife, mother, and children; and to acquaint him, that he besought the Gods, with his last breath, to prosper him in all his undertakings, and make him sole monarch of the universe; adding, that it did not concern him so much as Alexander, to punish those traitors, who had so cruelly treated their lawful sovereign; it being the common cause
of

of mo
hand
hand,
my na
in this
tion."
expire
with l
fisted
found
minut
holdin
fate w
ter lot
cloak,
balme
to Sif
ceased
the ma
at the
of his
five ye
from C
I sh
of Ale
genera
gree,

* Y
330 ye

of monarchs. He then took Polystratus by the hand and said: "Give Alexander, your hand, as I give you mine: and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to give, in this condition, of my gratitude and affection." When he had finished this speech, he expired in the arms of Polystratus *, and with him the Persian empire, which had subsisted two hundred and six years, from its foundation under Cyrus the Great. A few minutes after, Alexander arrived, and beholding the dead king, bewailed his unhappy fate with tears, saying he had merited a better lot, and then taking off his own military cloak, covered the royal corpse, had it embalmed, and sent in a very magnificent hearse to Sisigambis, the queen-mother to the deceased king, that he might be buried after the manner of the Persian monarchs. Darius, at the time of his death, was in the fiftieth year of his age, having reigned something above five years; he was the twelfth king of Persia, from Cyrus the Great.

I shall pass over the less warlike exploits of Alexander, during which, he greatly degenerated, frequently drank to an excessive degree, and in the course of his drunkenness,

* Year of the world, 3674; before Christ, 330 years.

put several of his friends and favourites to death, Parmenio among others. After various successes, Alexander arrived in Scythia, when the Abii, a famous Scythian people, sent ambassadors to him, to desire peace, accompanied with ambassadors from the European Scythians; these he artfully amused, and sent some of his own people home with them, under a pretence of finishing the negotiations, but in fact, to be so many spies. But the Scythians suspecting this, and being informed he designed to build a city to keep them in awe, took up arms, cut off the garisons he had in their country, and joined the discontented Bactrians and Sogdians.

No sooner was Alexander acquainted with what they had done, than he ordered some of his infantry to provide themselves with ladders, and immediately marched to Gaza, the nearest of the seven cities seized by the Barbarians. Craterus he sent to Cyropolis, the largest of those cities, into which most of the Barbarians had retired, commanding him to encamp under the walls of it. Being himself arrived before Gaza, he ordered the wall, which was but of mud, and low built, to be assaulted, and his scaling-ladders every where got ready: then the slingers, archers, and darters, mixed with the foot, began the attack, and incommoded the besieged with missive weapons, and, at the same time,

galled

galled them with darts from their engines, so that the Barbarians could not stay at the walls to defend them, but deserted them, and the scaling-ladders were immediately fixed, the Macedonians mounted, and, entering, killed all the men they met, as Alexander had commanded; but the soldiers had the women and the children, and the riches of the city, given to them. Alexander then removed to another of those cities, built and fortified like the others; which he assaulted and took the same day, and treated the inhabitants as he had done those of the former city. In the mean time, he sent his horse to other neighbouring cities, to prevent them from making their escape, when they should hear of the storming of the other cities, that he might not be put to the difficulty of pursuing them: thus he took and destroyed, in two days, five cities. He afterwards took Cyropolis, the richest and most populous city in this country; however, this he did not effect without some difficulty, as it was surrounded by a high wall, and bravely defended by the Barbarians who had fled into it; and in a battle previous to the taking of it, Alexander himself was wounded in the head and neck with a stone: want of water at last obliged the inhabitants to surrender. He then took the seventh city at the first attack. He now marked out the ground for the new city he had designed, walled it round

round in twenty days, and then gave the city to such of the Barbarians as had served him, to some mercenaries, and Macedonians. He would now have quitted the country; but the Scythians, who had watched an opportunity, came down in great numbers to the river, and insulted him and his army; nor was it without great difficulty and danger, and some loss, that he passed the river.

About this time Alexander gave into the Persian manners, and murdered Clytus at a banquet, which happened in this manner: Alexander having ordered a sacrifice, this year, to be offered to Castor and Pollux, instead of Bacchus, as had been usual, a magnificent banquet followed, at which were present the generals, and Clytus, the son of Dropidas, as great a favourite as any of them. Some of the company, to flatter Alexander, magnified his actions above those of Castor and Pollux, and lessened the fame of Hercules; this, and such kind of discourse, provoked Clytus, who declared, "He could not bear to hear such indignities offered to the Gods, or the reputations of ancient heroes under-rated, to tickle the ears of a living prince." Though he allowed the glory of Alexander's actions, yet he maintained they were not supernatural; nor did all the praise of them belong to him alone, but also to his army, who had bore a part in them.

the
at th
peaf
prece
havin
prov
of A
fathe
whil
vatio
cus,
hand,
unab
and e
vente
his re
guard
exclam
condi
Bessu
king,
left h
seized
and ki
of the
once r
grief
happy
his fa

them. Alexander was very much displeased at this honest, plain courtier; when, to appease his anger, some of the company depreciated the actions of his father Philip, as having performed nothing very great. This provoked Clytus to detract from the merits of Alexander, as not equal to those of his father. The king now grew outrageous, whilst Clytus upbraided him with the preservation of his life at the battle of the Granicus, stretching out his arm, and saying, *This hand, O Alexander, saved thee.* Alexander, unable to bear any more, leaped upon him, and endeavoured to kill him, but was prevented by his friends. Clytus yet continued his reproaches; then the king called for his guards, but none appearing, he passionately exclaimed, "That he was now in the same condition with Darius, when in the hands of Bessus: that he had the empty name of a king, and nothing more." His friends now left him at liberty, and retired; when he seized a lance, or a long Macedonian pike, and killed Clytus*. But as soon as the fumes of the wine were abated, and Alexander was once more come to himself, he, with great grief and concern, lamented this rash, unhappy action; the having basely murdered his father's brave foldier, his own faithful

* Arrian, lib. iv. c. 8.

friend, the constant companion of his toils, his sister brother, and the preserver of his life. Vanity and drunkenness are great enemies to man, but, when united, how terrible their effects are, we may learn from Alexander. This infatuated prince, however, still indulged his vanity, and greedily fed on the incense of flattery, even aspiring to divine honours, which his courtiers were base enough to pay to him.

But I must pass over further particulars of his private life, to speak of such as better suit the design of this work. Some time after he marched to the banks of the river Oxus, and then determined to penetrate into Sogdia. He marched to Maracanda with part of his army, and was soon followed by the remainder. Spitamenes, at the head of the revolted Sogdians, retired towards Scythia, and having procured six hundred horse, entered Bactria, and surprised a castle, put the governor and garrison to the sword, and then retreated to the suburbs of Zariaspa; hither he was pursued by some Macedonian horsemen, whose approach so terrified the Scythians, that they fled, and abandoned all their booty; but as the Macedonians were returning with the spoil, carelessly and in disorder, Spitamenes and his men issued from a wood, where they had been concealed, fell upon them, and killed every man of them. Craterus, apprized of this,

marched

abundant household goods as numerous as

man
wh
clo
tha
Ma
A
Sog
to
vey
as
str
and
to
melt
Hav
com
wher
wing
Alex
that
shoul
and
valuc
low
daric
derto
selves
think
the
their
aid
barr
• A

Of the wars of
Alexander the Great
marched against the Massagetae and Scythians,
who fled towards the desert; but being
closely pursued, were overtaken, and after a
sharp engagement, were defeated by the
Macedonians.

Alexander, the next spring, marched into
Sogdiana, to besiege a fortress built on a rock,
to which Oxyartes, the Bactrian, had con-
veyed his wife and family, looking upon it
as impregnable: it was, indeed, a very
strong place, the rock was not only rugged
and steep, but also so very slippery as scarcely
to be ascended, covered with snow, which,
melting, supplied the besieged with water.
Having summoned the place to surrender, the
commandant returned him answer, "That
when he had a corps of soldiers with flying
wings, he might expect to take the place."
Alexander ordered public notice to be given;
that he would reward the first soldier who
should ascend the rock with twelve talents;
and that prizes, tho' inferior, still of great
value, should be given to such as should fol-
low him, and to the last man three hundred
darics*. Three hundred Macedonians un-
dertook this enterprize; they provided them-
selves with tent-pins and strong ropes, and
thinking they should be safest on that side of
the rock, the most difficult to ascend, began
their attempt there. Thirty of them were

* Amounting to about three hundred pounds.

lost, and their bodies never found, as they fell from a great height into the snow. Their method of climbing was this; they struck the iron tent-pins into places where they could fasten them; to these they fixed ropes, and then ascended by them; as often as the ropes, or pins, gave way, the soldiers fell, and were lost in the snow. Having at last gained the top of the rock, they gave the appointed signal, when Alexander once more summoned the besieged, acquainting them, that he had now a corps of winged soldiers. The Macedonians on the top of the rock gave a loud shout, and clattered their weapons. The besieged were so terrified, that, without examining the number of the enemy, they immediately surrendered.

Alexander afterwards laid siege to another very strong fortress, situated on a rock called Chorienes, from one of the principal noblemen of that country, who had retired thither for shelter, with a numerous garrison, and great plenty of provisions. The sloping height of this rock was near five miles, it was near fifteen in circumference, and so extremely steep and craggy in all parts, as not to be accessible but by a narrow way made by art; a deep and broad ditch surrounded the whole. However, these difficulties did but strengthen Alexander's resolution to take the place. He ordered a great number of trees to be cut down, to make ladders to descend

into

into the ditch, which was dry. By day half his army were employed in this manner; the other half, divided into three divisions, worked all night in the ditch, where they drove huge piles, which they covered with hurdles and other materials, to make a bridge, that the army might march over to assault the fortress. These strange undertakings at first diverted the besieged, who beheld them with contempt; but, when they were considerably advanced, they were not a little alarmed at them, and the more so, as they were not able to annoy the assailants with their missile weapons, because they had contrived to cover themselves in the ditch; and they at last determined to surrender, as Oxyartes had assured Choriene of the generosity of Alexander, who had entertained his wife and children with great honour, when he took them in the last fortress.

After this the war was removed towards the Indus, when several Indian princes surrendered, whom Alexander received with the utmost humanity, commanding them to accompany him, and serve him as guides. As no more of them came in to pay their homage, he detached Hephæstion and Perdicas, with part of his forces, commanding them to subdue all who should refuse to submit; then, having commanded Craterus to follow him with his phalanx, he himself marched before, with his cavalry and light-

armed troops; and, after a slight engagement, he defeated those who had dared to make head against him, and pursued them to the next city into which they fled; but, as he was going round the walls on horseback, he was wounded by an arrow. Notwithstanding this accident, he took the city, after which he made dreadful havock of all the soldiers and inhabitants, and did not so much as spare the houses.

After subduing this nation, which was of great consequence, he marched towards the city of Nylā, and encamped pretty near its walls, behind a forest that hid it. The besieged having attempted a sally with ill success, a faction arose in the city, some being of opinion that it would be best for them to surrender, whilst others were for holding out the siege. This coming to the king's ear, he only blocked up the city, and did not do the inhabitants any further injury; till at last, tired out with the length of the siege, they surrendered at discretion, and accordingly were kindly treated by the conqueror.

• He marched from thence to a country called Dædala, which had been abandoned by the inhabitants, who had fled for shelter to inaccessible mountains; as also those of Acadera, into which he afterwards entered.

* Year of the World, 3677; before Christ, 327.
Ptolemy

Protemy took several little cities the instant he sat down before them; Alexander carried the large ones, and, after uniting all his forces, passed the river * Choaspes.

He afterwards marched towards Magosa, whose king, called Assacanus, was lately dead, and Cleophes, his mother, ruled the province and city. There were thirty thousand foot in it, and both nature and art seemed to have united their endeavours in raising its fortifications; for, towards the east, it is surrounded with a very rapid river, the banks of which are steep, and difficult of access; and on the west are high, craggy rocks, at the foot whereof are caves, which through length of time had increased into a kind of abysses; and where these fail, a trench, of an astonishing height, is raised with incredible labour.

Some of the soldiers demolished such houses as stood without the city, and with the rubbish of them they filled up the gulphs above-mentioned. Others threw great trunks of trees and huge stones into them; and all laboured with so much vigour, that, in nine days, the works were completed, and the towers were raised upon them.

* This is not the Choaspes which runs by Susa.

The king visited the works, and, after applauding the soldiers for their great dispatch, he caused the engines to be brought forward, whence a great number of darts were discharged against those who defended the walls. But that which most terrified the Barbarians, was those towers of a vast height, which seemed to them to move of themselves; so that, persuaded that it would be impossible for them to defend the city, they withdrew into the citadel; but not finding themselves more secure there, they sent ambassadors to propose a surrender. The queen afterwards came and met Alexander, attended by a great number of ladies, who all brought him wine in cups, by way of sacrifice. The king gave her a very gracious reception, and restored her to her kingdom.

From hence Polysphercon was sent with an army to besiege the city of Ora, which he soon took. Most of its inhabitants had withdrawn to the rock called Aornos. There was a tradition, that Hercules having besieged this rock, an earthquake had forced him to quit the siege. There are not on this rock, as on many others, gentle declivities of easy access; but it rises like a bank, and being very wide at bottom, grows narrower all the way to the top, which terminates in a point. The river Indus, whose source is not far from this place, flows at the bottom, its sides being perpendicular and high; and

on

on the other side were vast morasses, which it was necessary to fill up before the rock could be taken. Very happily for the Macedonians they were near a forest. This the king had cut down, commanding his soldiers to take away only the trunks, the branches of which were lopped, in order that they might be carried with less difficulty; and he himself threw the first trunk into the morass. The army seeing this, shouted for joy, and every soldier labouring with incredible diligence, the work was finished in seven days; immediately after which the attack began. The officers were of opinion, that it would not be proper for the king to expose himself on this occasion, the danger being evidently too great. However, the trumpet had no sooner sounded, but this prince, who was not master of his courage, commanded his guards to follow, himself first climbing the rock. At this sight it appeared no longer inaccessible, and every one flew after him. Never were soldiers exposed to greater danger; but they were all resolved to conquer or die. Several fell from the rock into the river, whose whirlpools swallowed them up. The Barbarians rolled great stones on the foremost, who being scarce able to keep upon their feet (the rock was so slippery) fell down the precipices, and were dashed to pieces. No fight could possibly be more dismal than this; the king, greatly afflicted at the loss of so many

brave soldiers, caused a retreat to be sounded. Nevertheless, though he had lost all hopes of taking the place, and was determined to raise the siege, he acted as if he intended to continue it, and accordingly gave orders for bringing forward the towers and other engines. The besieged, by way of insult, made great rejoicings, and continued their festivity for two days and two nights, making the rock and the whole neighbourhood echo with the sound of their drums and cymbals. But the third night they were not heard, and the Macedonians were surprised to see every part of the rock illuminated with torches. The king was informed, that the Indians had lighted them to assist their flight, and to guide them the more easily in those precipices, during the obscurity of the night. Immediately the whole army, by Alexander's order, shouted aloud, which terrified the fugitives so much, that several of them, fancying they saw the enemy, flung themselves from the top of the rock, and perished miserably. The king having so happily and unexpectedly possessed himself of the rock, in an almost miraculous manner, thanked the gods, and offered sacrifices in their honour.

From hence he marched and took Echopolimus; and, after sixteen days march, arrived at the river Indus, where he found that Hephæstion had got all things ready for his passage,

passage, pursuant to the orders given him. The king of the country, called Omphis, whose father died some time before, had sent to Alexander, to know whether he would give him leave to wear the crown. Notwithstanding the Macedonian told him he might, he nevertheless delayed putting it on till his arrival. He then went to meet him, with his whole army; and when Alexander was advanced pretty near, he pushed forward his horse, came up singly to him, and the king did the same. The Indian then told him by an interpreter: "That he was come to meet him at the head of his army, in order to deliver up all his forces into his hands. That he surrendered his person and his kingdom to a monarch, who, he was sensible, fought only with a view of acquiring glory, and dreaded nothing so much as treachery." The king, greatly satisfied with the frankness of the Barbarian, gave him his hand, and restored him his kingdoms. He then made Alexander a present of fifty-six elephants, and a great number of other animals of prodigious size. Alexander asking him which were most necessary to him, husbandmen or soldiers? he replied, that, as he was at war with two kings, the latter were of greatest service to him.

The next day, ambassadors from Abisares waiting upon the king, surrendered up to him, pursuant to the power given them, all

the dominions of their sovereign; and, after each party had promised fidelity, they returned back.

Alexander expecting that Porus, astonished with the report of his glory, would not fail to submit to him, sent a message to that prince, as if he had been his vassal, requiring him to pay tribute, and meet him upon the frontiers of his dominions. Porus answered with great coldness, that he would do so, but it should be sword in hand. At the same time a reinforcement of thirty elephants, which were of great service, were sent to Alexander. He gave the superintendence of all his elephants to Taxilus, and advanced as far as the borders of the Hydaspes. Porus was encamped on the other side of it, in order to dispute the passage with him; and had posted at the head of his army eighty-five elephants of a prodigious size, and behind them three hundred chariots, guarded by thirty thousand foot; not having, at most, above seven thousand horse. This prince was mounted on an elephant of a much larger size than any of the rest, and he himself exceeded the usual stature of men; so that, clothed in his armour glittering with gold and silver, he appeared at the same time terrible and majestic. The greatness of his courage equalled that of his stature, and he was as wise and prudent as it was possible for the monarch of so barbarous a people to be.

The

Alexander the Great.

The Macedonians dreaded not only the enemy, but the river they were obliged to pass. It was four furlongs wide (about four hundred fathoms) and so deep in every part, that it looked like a sea, and was no where fordable. It was vastly impetuous, notwithstanding its great breadth; for it rolled with as much violence as if it had been confined to a narrow channel; and its raging, foaming waves, which broke in many places, discovered that it was full of stones and rocks. However, nothing was so dreadful as the appearance of the shore, which was quite covered with men, horses and elephants. Those hideous animals stood like so many towers, and the Indians exasperated them, in order that the horrid cry they made might fill the enemy with greater terror.

Alexander was in great perplexity; and finding he could not pass the Hydaspes by force of arms, he therefore resolved to have recourse to artifice; accordingly, he caused his cavalry to attempt several times to pass it in the night, and to shout as if they really intended to ford the river, all things being prepared for that purpose. Immediately Porus hurried thither with his elephants, but Alexander continued in battle array on the bank. This stratagem having been attempted several times, and Porus finding the whole was but mere noise and empty menaces, he took no further notice of these motions, and only

only sent scouts to every part of the shores. Alexander, being now no longer apprehensive of having the whole army of the enemy fall upon him, in his attempting to cross the river in the night, began to resolve seriously to pass it.

There was in this river, at a considerable distance from Alexander's camp, an island of a greater extent than any of the rest. This being covered with trees, was very proper for him to cover and conceal his design, and therefore he resolved to attempt the passage that way. However, the better to conceal the knowledge of it from the enemy, and deceive them on this occasion, he left Craterus in his camp, with a great part of the army, with orders for them to make a great noise at a certain time which should be appointed, in order to alarm the Indians, and make them believe that he was preparing to cross the river; but that he would not attempt this, till such time as Porus should have raised his camp, and marched away his elephants, either to withdraw, or advance towards those Macedonians who should attempt the passage. Between the camp and the Island he had posted Meleager and Gorgias with the foreign horse and foot, with orders for them to pass over in bodies, the instant they should see him engaged in battle.

After giving these orders, he took the rest of his army, as well cavalry as infantry; and,

and, wheeling off from the shore, in order to avoid being perceived, he advanced in the night-time towards the island into which he was resolved to go; and the better to deceive the enemy, Alexander caused his tent to be pitched in the camp where he had left Craterus, which was opposite to that of Porus. His life-guards were drawn up round, in all the pomp and splendor with which the majesty of a great king is usually surrounded. He also caused a royal robe to be put upon Attalus, who was of the same age with himself, and so much resembled the king both in stature and features, especially at so great a distance as the breadth of the river, that the enemy might suppose Alexander himself was on the bank, and was attempting the passage in that place. He however was by this time got to the island above-mentioned; and immediately landed upon it from boats, with the rest of his troops, whilst the enemy was employed in opposing Craterus. But now a furious storm arose, which seemed as if it would retard the execution of his project, yet proved of advantage to it. The storm was succeeded by a very violent shower, with impetuous winds, flashes of lightning and thunder, insomuch that there was no hearing or seeing any thing. He thereupon made the signal for the embarkation of his troops and went off himself in the first boat.

Scarcely

Scarce any person appeared to oppose their descent, because Porus was wholly taken up with Craterus, and imagined he had nothing to do but to oppose his passage. Immediately this general, pursuant to his orders, made a prodigious clamour, and seemed to attempt the passage of the river. Upon this all the boats came to shore, one excepted, which the waves dashed to pieces against a rock. The moment Alexander was landed, he drew up in order of battle his little army, consisting of six thousand foot and five thousand horse. He himself headed the latter; and, having commanded the foot to make all imaginable dispatch after him, he marched before.

Porus, upon hearing Alexander had passed the river, sent against him a detachment commanded by one of his sons, of two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty chariots. Alexander imagined them at first the enemy's van-guard, and that the whole army was behind them; but, being informed it was but a detachment, he charged them with such vigour, that Porus's son was killed upon the spot, with four hundred horses, and all the chariots were taken. Each of these chariots carried six men; two were armed with bucklers, two bow-men sate on each side, and two guided the chariot, who nevertheless always fought when the battle grew warm, having

having a great number of darts which they discharged at the enemy. But all these did little execution that day, because the rain, which fell in great abundance, had moistened the earth to such a degree, that the horses could scarce stand upon their legs; and the chariots being very heavy, most of them sunk very deep into the mud.

Porus, upon receiving advice of the death of his son, the defeat of the detachment, and of Alexander's approach, was in doubt whether it would be proper for him to continue in his post, because Craterus, with the rest of the Macedonian army, made a feint as if they intended to pass the river. However, he at last resolved to go and meet Alexander, whom he justly supposed to be at the head of the choicest troops of his army. Accordingly, leaving only a few elephants in his camp, to amuse those who were posted on the opposite shore, he set out with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three thousand chariots, and two hundred elephants. Being come into a firm, sandy soil, in which his horses and chariots might wheel about with ease, he drew up his army in battle array, with an intent to wait the coming up of the enemy. He posted in front, and on the first line, all the elephants at a hundred foot distance one from the other, in order that they might serve as a bulwark to his foot, who were behind. It was his opinion, that the

the enemy's cavalry would not dare to engage in these intervals, because of the fear those horses would have of the elephants, and much less their infantry, when they should see that of the enemy posted behind the elephants, and in danger of being trod to pieces by those animals. He had posted some of his foot on the same line with the elephants, in order to cover their right and left; and this infantry was covered by his two wings of those, before which the chariots were posted. Such was the order and disposition of Porus's army. Alexander being come in sight of the enemy, waited the coming up of his foot, which marched with the utmost diligence, and arrived a little after: and in order that they might have time to take breath, and not be led, as they were very much fatigued, against the enemy, he caused his horse to make a great many evolutions, in order to gain time. But now every thing being ready, and the infantry having sufficiently recovered their vigour, Alexander gave the signal of battle; his cavalry being stronger, he drew out the greatest part of them; and marching against the left wing, sent Cœnus with his own regiment of horse, and that of Demetrius, to charge them at the same time; ordering him to attack that cavalry on the left, behind, during which he himself would charge them both in front and flank. Seleucus, Antigonus and Tauron, who commanded the foot, were ordered not to stir

from their posts, till Alexander's cavalry had put that of the enemy, as well as their foot, into disorder.

Being come within arrow-shot, he detached a thousand bowmen on horseback, with orders for them to make their discharge on the horse of Porus's left wing, in order to throw it into disorder, whilst he himself should charge this body in flank, before it had time to rally. The Indians, having joined again their squadrons, and drawn them up into a narrower compass, advanced against Alexander. At that instant Coenus charged them in the rear, according to the orders given him; insomuch that the Indians were obliged to face about on all sides, to defend themselves from the thousand bowmen, and against Alexander, and Coenus; Alexander, to make the best advantage of the confusion into which this sudden attack had thrown them, charged with great vigour those that made head against him, who being no longer able to stand so violent an attack, were soon broke, and retired behind the elephants, as to an impregnable rampart.

The leaders of the elephants made them advance against the enemy's horse; but, that very instant, the Macedonian phalanx moving on a sudden, surrounded those animals, and charged with their pikes the elephants themselves and their leaders. This battle was very different from all those which Alexander had hitherto fought; for the elephants rushing upon

upon the battalions, broke, with inexpressible fury, the thickest of them; when the Indian horse, seeing the Macedonian foot stopt by the elephants, returned to the charge; however, that of Alexander being stronger, and having greater experience in war, broke this body a second time, and obliged it to retire towards the elephants; upon which, the Macedonian horse being all united in one body, spread terror and confusion wherever they attacked. The elephants being all covered with wounds, and the greatest part having lost their leaders, they did not observe their usual order; but, distracted as it were with pain, no longer distinguished friends from foes, but running about from place to place, they overthrew every thing in their way. The Macedonians, who had purposely left a greater interval between their battalions, either made way for them wherever they came forward, or charged with darts those that fear, and the tumult, obliged to retire. Alexander, after having surrounded the enemy with his horse, made a signal to his foot to march up with all imaginable speed, in order to make a last effort, and to fall upon them with his whole force, all which they executed very successfully. In this manner the greatest part of the Indian cavalry were cut to pieces; and a body of their foot, which sustained no less loss, seeing themselves charged on all sides, at last fled.

fled. Craterus, who had continued in the camp with the rest of his army, seeing Alexander engaged with Porus, crossed the river, and charging the routed soldiers with his troops, who were cool and vigorous, by that means killed as many enemies in the retreat, as had fallen in the battle.

The Indians lost on this occasion twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, not to mention the chariots which were all broke to pieces, and the elephants that were either killed, or taken. Porus's two sons fell in this battle, with Spitacus, governor of the province; all the colonels of horse and foot, and those who guided the elephants and chariots. As for Alexander, he lost but fourscore of the six thousand soldiers who were at the first charge, ten bow-men of the horse, twenty of his horse-guards, and two hundred common soldiers.

Porus, after having performed all the duty both of a soldier and a general in the battle, and fought with incredible bravery, seeing all his horse defeated, and the greatest part of his foot, did not behave like the great Darius; who, on a like disaster, was the first that fled: on the contrary, he continued in the field, as long as one battalion, or squadron stood their ground; but at last, having received a wound in the shoulder, he retired upon his elephant; and was easily distinguished from the rest, by the greatness of his stature and his unparalleled bravery. Alexander,

ander, finding who he was by those glorious marks, and being desirous of saving this king, sent Taxilus after him, because he was of the same nation. The latter advancing as near to him as he might, without running any danger of being wounded, called out to him to stop, in order to hear the message he had brought him from Alexander. Porus turning back, and seeing it was Taxilus, his old enemy; "How!" says he, "is it not Taxilus that calls, that traitor to his country and kingdom?" Immediately after which, he would have transfix'd him with his dart, had he not instantly retired. Notwithstanding this, Alexander was still desirous to save so brave a prince, and thereupon dispatched other officers, among whom was Meroe, one of his intimate friends, who besought him, in the strongest terms, to wait upon a conqueror, altogether worthy of him. After much intreaty, Porus consented, and accordingly set forward. Alexander, who had been told of his coming, advanced forwards in order to receive him with some of his train. Being come pretty near, Alexander stopped, purposely to take a view of his stature and noble mein, he being about five cubits in height*. Porus did not seem

* Seven foot and a half.

dejected

dejected at his misfortune, but came up with a resolute countenance, like a valiant warrior, whose courage in defending his dominions, ought to acquire him the esteem of the brave prince who had taken him prisoner. Alexander spoke first, and with an august and gracious air, asked him how he desired to be treated? "Like a king," replied Porus; "but," continued Alexander, "do you ask nothing more?" "No," replied Porus; "all things are included in that single word." Alexander, struck with this greatness of soul, the magnanimity of which seemed heightened by distress, did not only restore him his kingdom, but annexed other provinces to it, and treated him with the highest testimonies of honour, esteem and friendship. Porus was faithful to him till his death. It is hard to say, whether the victor or the vanquished best deserved praise on this occasion.

Alexander built a city on the spot where the battle had been fought, and another in that place where he had crossed the river. He called the one Nicæa from his victory; and the other, Bucephalon, in honour of his horse, who died there, not of his wounds, but of old age. After having paid the last duties to such of his soldiers as had lost their lives in battle, he solemnized games, and offered up sacrifices of thanks, in the place where he had passed the Hydaspes.

Alex-

Alexander's ambition not being satisfied with the conquests he had made, advanced into India, and reduced many nations and cities; when having passed the Acesines, and afterwards the Hydraotes, two considerable rivers, he received advice, that a great number of free Indians had formed a conspiracy to defend their liberties; and among others, the Caytheans, the most valiant and skilful warriors of those nations; these were encamped near the strong city of Sangala. He therefore led his forces against this formidable body, defeated them in a set battle, took the city, and totally destroyed it. He then formed a design to pass the Hyphasis†, but this raised great discontents in his army, which being unable to suppress, he at last consented to lead his forces back, to the universal joy of all the soldiers.

He afterwards recrossed the Hydraotes, and left Porus all the lands he had conquered as far as the Hyphasis, having settled a peace between Porus and Taxilus. He then went and encamped on the banks of the Acesines, but that and the country being overflowed by heavy rains, he was obliged to remove higher.

† Called to this day, the *Pengol*, that is, the *five waters*, from the *five rivers* which compose it,

He had now a fleet of eight hundred vessels, as well galleys as boats, to carry the troops and provisions; they accordingly embarked about the end of October, and at last arrived at the country of the Oxydracæ and Malli, the most valiant people in those parts. These were perpetually at war, one with another; but, having united for their mutual safety, they had drawn together ten thousand horse, and fourscore thousand foot, all vigorous young men, with nine hundred chariots. However, Alexander defeated them in several engagements, dispossessed them of some strong holds, and at last marched against the city of the Oxydracæ, whither the greatest part were retired. Immediately he caused the scaling ladders to be set up; and, as they were not nimble enough for Alexander, he forced one of the scaling-ladders from a soldier; runs up the first (covered with his shield) and gets to the top of the wall, followed only by Peucestes and Limneus. The soldiers, believing him in danger, mounted swiftly to succour him; but the ladders breaking, the king was left alone. Alexander, seeing himself the butt against which all the darts were levelled, both from the towers and from the rampart, was so rash, rather than valiant, as to leap into the city, which was crouded with the enemy, having nothing to expect, but to be either taken, or killed, before it would be possible for him to rise,

Alexander's ambition not being satisfied with the conquests he had made, advanced into India, and reduced many nations and cities; when having passed the Acesines, and afterwards the Hydraotes, two considerable rivers, he received advice, that a great number of free Indians had formed a conspiracy to defend their liberties; and among others, the Caytheans, the most valiant and skilful warriors of those nations; these were encamped near the strong city of Sangala. He therefore led his forces against this formidable body, defeated them in a set battle, took the city, and totally destroyed it. He then formed a design to pass the Hyphasis, but this raised great discontents in his army, which being unable to suppress, he at last consented to lead his forces back, to the universal joy of all the soldiers.

He afterwards recrossed the Hydraotes, and left Porus all the lands he had conquered as far as the Hyphasis, having settled a peace between Porus and Taxilus. He then went and encamped on the banks of the Acesines, but that and the country being overflowed by heavy rains, he was obliged to remove higher.

† Called to this day, the *Pengol*, that is, the *five waters*, from the *five rivers* which compose it.

He

He
as w
and
about
ruled
Mali
The
anoth
teale
thous
all vi
chario
in sev
some
the cit
part
the sea
were
forced
dier;
shield)
lowed
soldiers
swiftly
ing, th
seeing
darts
and fro
than va
was cr
thing t
killed,
Vol

He had now a fleet of eight hundred vessels, as well galleys as boats, to carry the troops and provisions; they accordingly embarked about the end of October, and at last arrived at the country of the Oxydracæ and Malli, the most valiant people in those parts. These were perpetually at war, one with another; but, having united for their mutual safety, they had drawn together ten thousand horse, and fourscore thousand foot, all vigorous young men, with nine hundred chariots. However, Alexander defeated them in several engagements, dispossessed them of some strong holds, and at last marched against the city of the Oxydracæ, whither the greatest part were retired. Immediately he caused the scaling ladders to be set up; and, as they were not nimble enough for Alexander, he forced one of the scaling-ladders from a soldier; runs up the first (covered with his shield) and gets to the top of the wall, followed only by Peucestes and Limneus. The soldiers, believing him in danger, mounted swiftly to succour him; but the ladders breaking, the king was left alone. Alexander, seeing himself the butt against which all the darts were levelled, both from the towers and from the rampart, was so rash, rather than valiant, as to leap into the city, which was crowded with the enemy, having nothing to expect, but to be either taken, or killed, before it would be possible for him to

rise, and without once having an opportunity to defend himself, or revenge his death. But happily for him, he poised his body in such a manner, that he fell upon his his feet, and, finding himself standing, sword in hand, he repulsed such as were nearest him, and even killed the general of the enemy, who advanced to run him through. Happily for him a second time, not far from thence there stood a great tree, against the trunk of which he leaned, his shield receiving all the darts that were shot at him from a distance; for no one dared to approach him, so great was the dread which the boldness of the enterprize, and the fire that shot from his eyes, had struck into the enemy. At last, an Indian let fly an arrow three foot long, that being the length of their arrows, which piercing his coat of mail, entered a considerable way into his body, a little above the right side. So great a quantity of blood issued from the wound, that he dropt his arms, and lay as dead. Behold then † this mighty conqueror, this vanquisher of nations, upon the point of losing his life, not at the head of his armies, but in a corner of an obscure city, into which his rashness had thrown him. The Indian, who wounded Alexander, ran, in the greatest transports of joy, to strip him; however,

† Plut. de fortun. Alex. p. 344.

Alex
my
reve
hold
plun
of h
and
wall
stant
fake
therm
susta
was
roun
who
ment
gate
that n
the t
were
age,
Th
Alexa
days,
fore hi
the re
Barba
togeth
middle
show
dead,

Alexander no sooner felt the hand of his enemy upon him, but, fired with the thirst of revenge, he recalled his spirits; and, laying hold of the Indian, as he had no arms, he plunged the dagger into his side. Some of his chief officers, as Peucestes, Leonatus, and Timæus, who had got to the top of the wall with some soldiers, came up in that instant, and attempting impossibilities, for the sake of saving their sovereign's life, they form themselves as a bulwark round his body, and sustain the whole effort of the enemy. It was then that a mighty battle was fought round him. In the mean time, the soldiers, who had climbed up with the officers above-mentioned, having broke the bolts of a little gate standing between two towers, they, by that means, let in the Macedonians. Soon after the town was taken, and all the inhabitants were put to the sword, without distinction of age, or sex.

The first care they took, was to carry Alexander into his tent. At the end of seven days, he had employed for his recovery, before his wound was closed, as he knew that the report of his death increased among the Barbarians, he caused two vessels to be joined together, and had his tent pitched in the middle, in sight of every one; purposely to show himself to those who imagined him dead, and to ruin, by this means, all their projects,

projects, and hopes with which they flattered themselves. He afterwards went down the river, going before at some distance from the rest of the fleet, for fear the noise of the oars should keep him from sleep, which he very much wanted. When he was a little better, and able to go out, the soldiers, who were upon guard, brought him his litter, but he refused it; and, calling for his horse, mounted him. At this sight, all the shore and the neighbouring forests ecchoing with the acclamations of the army, who imagined they saw him rise, in a manner from the grave. Being come near his tent, he alighted, and walked a little way, surrounded with a great number of soldiers, wishing him long life, and an uninterrupted series of prosperity.

At this instant deputies came from the Malli, with the chiefs of the Oxydracæ, being one hundred and sixty, besides the governors of the cities and of the province, who brought him presents, and paid him homage pleading in excuse for not having done it before, their strong love of liberty.

Alexander, was overjoyed at this embassy, and found his strength increase daily, tasted with so much the greater pleasure the fruits both of his victory and health, as he had like to have lost them for ever. Alexander, continued encamped for several days in this place.

He

He afterwards went upon the river, and his army marched after him upon the banks. He then came among the Sabracæ, a powerful nation of Indians. These had levied sixty thousand foot, and six thousand horse, and reinforced them with five hundred chariots; however, the army of Alexander spread a terror through the whole country, and accordingly they sent ambassadors to make their submission. After having built another city, which he also called Alexandria, he arrived in the territories of Musicanus, a very rich prince, and afterwards in those of king Samus.

† The king continuing his voyage, arrived at Patala, about the beginning of the dog-days, that is, about the end of July; so that the fleet was nine months at least, from its setting out, till his arrival at the place. Alexander caused a citadel to be built in Patala, as also an harbour and an arsenal for the shipping. This being done, he embarked on the right arm of the river, in order to sail as far as the ocean.

At last Alexander, after having sailed full nine months in rivers, arrived at the ocean. He then offered sacrifices to the Gods, and particularly to Neptune; threw into the sea the bulls he had slaughtered, and a great

† Strab. l. 15. p. 692.

number of golden cups; and besought the Gods, not to suffer any mortal after him, to exceed the bounds of his expedition. Finding that he had extended his conquests to the extremities of the earth on that side, he imagined he had completed his mighty design; and, highly delighted with himself, he returned to rejoin the rest of his fleet and army, which waited for them at Patala and in the neighbourhood of it. † Being returned to Patala, prepared all things for the departure of his fleet. He appointed Nearchus admiral of it.

Alexander, after having left Patala, marched through the country of the Oritæ, the capital whereof was called Ora or Rhambacia. Here he was in such want of provision, that he lost a number of soldiers; and brought back from India scarce the fourth part of his army, which had consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse. Sicknefs, bad food, and the excessive heats had swept them away in multitudes; but famine made a still greater havock among the troops in this barren country, which was neither ploughed nor sowed; its inhabitants being savages, who fared very hard, and led a most uncomfortable life. After they had eat all the palm-tree roots that

† Arrian. in Indic. p. 334.

could be met with, they were obliged to feed upon the beasts of burthen, and next upon their war-horses: and when they had no beasts left to carry their baggage, they were forced to burn those rich spoils, for the sake of which the Macedonians had ran to the extremities of the earth. The plague, a disease which generally accompanies famine, compleated the calamity of the soldiers, and destroyed great numbers of them.

After marching threescore days, Alexander arrived on the confines of Gedrosia, where he found plenty of all things; for the soil was not only very fruitful, but the kings and great men who lay nearest that country sent him all kind of provisions. He continued some time here, in order to refresh his army. The governors of India having sent, by his order a great number of horses, and all kinds of beasts of burthen, from the several kingdoms subject to him, he remounted his troops; equipped those who had lost every thing; and soon after presented all of them with arms, as beautiful as those they had before, which it was very easy for him to do, as they were upon the confines of Persia, at that time in peace, and in a very flourishing condition.

He arrived in Carmania, now called Kerman, and went through it, not with the air and equipage of a warrior and a conqueror, but in a kind of masquerade, and Bacchanalian festivity; committing the most riotous

and extravagant actions. He was drawn by eight horses, himself being seated on a magnificent chariot, above which a scaffold was raised, in the form of a square stage, where he passed the days and nights in feasts and carousing. This chariot was preceded and followed by an infinite number of others, some of which, in the shape of tents, were covered with rich carpets, and purple coverlets; and others, shaped like cradles, were overshadowed with branches of trees. On the sides of the roads and at the doors of houses, a great number of casks ready broached were placed, whence the soldiers drew wine in large flaggons, cups and goblets, prepared for that purpose. The whole country ecchoed with the sound of instruments, and the sounding of the Bacchanals, who, with their hair disheveled, and like so many frantic creatures, ran up and down, abandoning themselves in every kind of licentiousness. All this he did in imitation of the triumph of Bacchus, who, as we are told, crossed all Asia in this equipage, after he had conquered India. This riotous, dissolute march lasted seven days, during all which time, the army was never sober.

The king was very anxious about his fleet. When news was brought him that Nearchus was arrived almost alone, he imagined that it had been entirely destroyed. Taking Nearchus aside, he told him, that he was overjoyed

joye
inco
fleet
" th
whic
left
tears
gave
of all
quite
pursu
him.
Co
garda
Alex
ing th
aspera
ting
towa
the ca
marri
and g
tion.
Ale
the oc
river
Pesian
went
was er
city o
phaeti

joyed at his return, but at the same time was inconsolable for the loss of his fleet. "Your fleet, royal Sir," cried he immediately, "thanks to the Gods is not lost:" upon which he related the condition in which he had left it. Alexander could not refrain from tears, and confessed, that this happy news gave him greater pleasure than the conquest of all Asia; bid him return back, and go quite up the Euphrates as far as Babylon, pursuant to the first orders he had given him.

Continuing his march, he went to Passagardæ, a city of Persia. From Passagardæ, Alexander came to Persepolis; and, surveying the remains of the conflagration, was exasperated against himself, for his folly in setting it on fire. From hence he advanced towards Susa. Alexander found in Susa all the captives of quality he had left there. He married Statira, Darius's eldest daughter, and gave the youngest to his dear Hephæstion.

Alexander, having still a curiosity to see the ocean, came down from Susa, upon the river Eulæus; and after having coasted the Persian gulph to the mouth of the Tigris, he went up that river towards the army, which was encamped on the banks of it, near the city of Opis, under the command of Hephæstion.

† From Ophis, Alexander arrived at Ec-
batana in Media, where, after having dis-
patched the most urgent affairs of the king-
dom, he again solemnized games and festi-
vals. It happened very unluckily, during
the celebration of these festivals, that He-
phæstion died of a disease which he brought
upon himself by immoderate drinking, his
whole court followed his example, and some-
times spent whole days and nights in these
excesses. In one of them Hephæstion lost
his life.

In order to remove, by business and em-
ployment, the melancholy ideas which the
death of his favourite perpetually awakened
in his mind, Alexander marched his army
against the Cossæi, a warlike nation inhabit-
ing the mountains of Media, whom not one
of the Persian monarchs had ever been able
to conquer. However, the king reduced
them in forty days, afterwards passed the
Tigris, and marched towards Babylon.

Alexander being arrived within a league
and a half of Babylon, the Chaldeans; who
pretended to know futurity by the stars, de-
puted to him some of their old men, to ac-
quaint him, that he would be in danger of
his life, in case he entered that city; and

† Year of the world 3680, before Christ 324.
were

were urgent with him to go on further. The Babylonish astrologers were held in such great reputation, that this advice made a prodigious impression on his mind, and filled him with confusion and dread. Upon this, after sending several of the Grantees of his court to Babylon, he himself went another way; and having marched about ten leagues, he stopped some time in the place where he had encamped his army. The Greek philosophers, being told the foundation of his fear and scruples, waited upon him; when setting, in the strongest light, the principles of Anaxagoras, whose tenets they followed, they demonstrated to him in the strongest manner, the vanity of astrology; and made him have so great a contempt for divination in general, and for that of the Chaldeans in particular, that he immediately marched towards Babylon with his whole army. He knew that there were arrived in that city, embassadors from all parts of the world, who waited for his coming; the whole earth echoing so much with the terror of his name, that the several nations came, with inexpressible ardour, to pay homage to Alexander, as to him who was to be their sovereign. This view, which agreeably soothed the strongest of all his passions, contributed very much to stifle every other reflection, and to make him careless of all advice that might be given him; so that he

set forward with all possible diligence towards that great city, there to hold the states-general, in a manner, of the world. After making a most magnificent entry, he gave audience to all the ambassadors, with the grandeur and dignity suitable to a great monarch, and at the same time, with the affability and politeness of a prince, who is desirous of winning the affection of all.

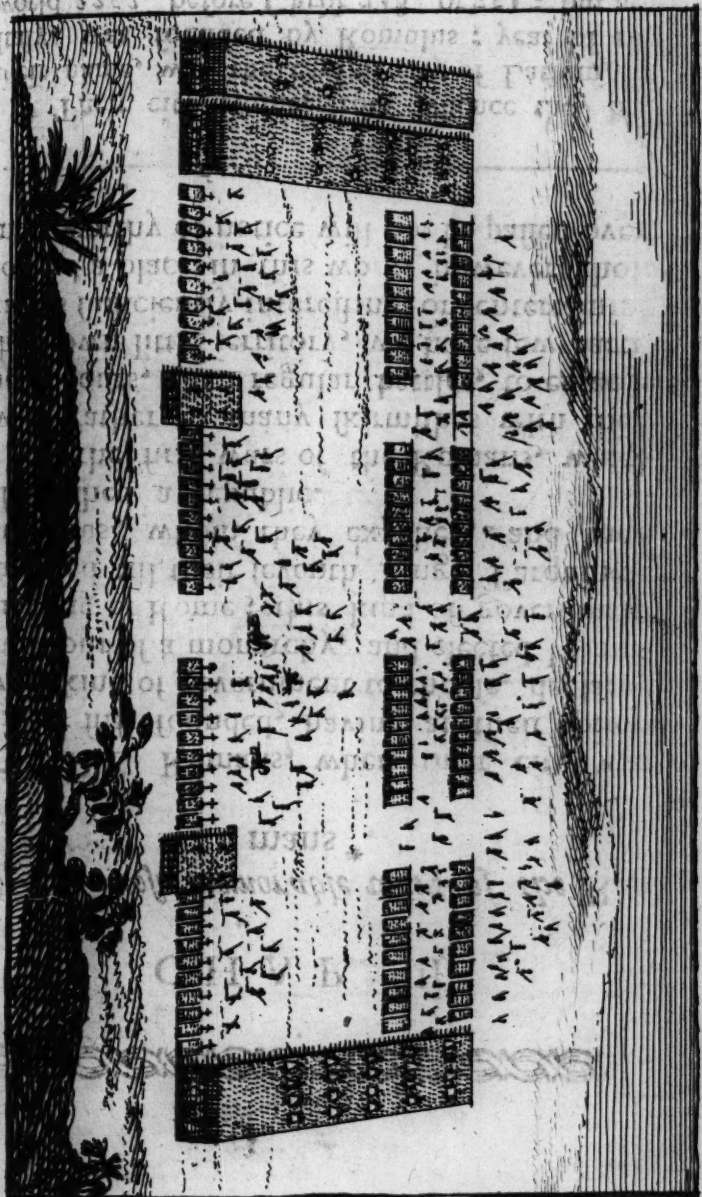
Alexander, after having dispatched these affairs, finding himself now at leisure, began to think of Hephæstion's burial. This he solemnized with a magnificence, the like of which had never been seen. He likewise ordered all the nations of Asia, to extinguish what the Persians called the *sacred fire*, till the ceremony of the interment should be ended; which was considered as an ill omen, it being never practised in Persia, except at the death of its monarchs.

At the same time the king, having procured a great number of architects and skilful workmen, first caused near six furlongs of the wall of Babylon to be beat down; and, having got together a great number of bricks, and levelled the spot designed for the funeral pile, he had a most magnificent monumental structure erected over it.

This edifice was divided into thirty parts, in each whereof was raised an uniform building, the roof of which was covered with great planks of palm-tree wood. The whole formed

A
R
O
M
A
N
C
A
M
P

A ROMAN CAMP.



ed a perfect square, the circumference, of which was adorned with extraordinary magnificence. Each side was a furlong, or an hundred fathoms, in length. At the foot of it, and in the first row, were set two hundred and forty-four prows of ships gilded, on the * buttresses or supporters whereof the statues of two archers, four cubits high, with one knee on the ground, were fixed; and two other statues, in an upright posture, completely armed, bigger than the life, being five cubits in height. The spaces between the prows were spread and adorned with purple cloth. Over these prows was a colonade of large flambeaux, the shafts of which were fifteen cubits high, embellished with crowns of gold at the part where they are held. The flame of those flambeaux ending at top, terminated towards eagles, which, with their heads turned downward, and extended wings, served as capitals. Dragons, fixed near, or upon, the base, turned their heads upwards towards the eagles. Over this colonade, stood a third, in the base of which was represented, in relievo, a party of hunting of animals of every kind. On the superior order, that is the fourth, the combat of the centaurs was represented in gold. Finally, on the fifth, golden figures, represent-

* In Greek *Exerides*, or ears. These are two pieces of timber, which project to the right and the left of the prow.

ing lions and bulls, were placed alternately, The whole edifice terminated with military trophies, after the Macedonian and Barbarian fashion, as so many symbols of the victory of the former, and defeat of the latter. On the entablatures and roof were represented Syrens, the hollow bodies of which were filled but in an imperceptible manner, with musicians, who sang mournful airs and dirges in honour of the deceased. This edifice was upwards of one hundred and thirty cubits high, that is above an hundred and ninety-five feet.

The beauty of the design of this structure, the singularity and magnificence of the decorations, and the several ornaments of it, surpassed the most wonderful productions of fancy, and were all in an exquisite taste. Alexander had appointed to superintend the building of this edifice, Stasicrates, a great architect, and dmirably well skilled in mechanics. Alexander was for ever solemnizing new festivals, and perpetually at new banquets, in which he quaffed with his usual intemperance, After having spent a whole night in carousing. a second was proposed to him. He met accordingly, and there were twenty guests at table. He drank to the health of every person in company, and then pledged them severally. After this, calling for Hercules's cup which held six bottles, it was filled, when he poured it all down, drinking to a
Mace-

Macedonian of the company, Protæas by name; and afterwards pledged him again, in the same furious bumper. He had no sooner swallowed it, but he fell upon the floor.

In this codition he was seized with a violent fever, and carried half dead to his palace. The fever continued, though with some good intervals, in which he gave the necessary orders for the sailing of his fleet, and the marching of his land forces, being persuaded he should soon recover. But at last, finding himself past all hopes, and his voice beginning to fail, he drew his ring from his finger, and gave it to Perdiccas, with orders to convey his corpse to the temple of Jupiter Ammon.

Notwithstanding his great weakness, he however struggled with death, and raising himself upon his elbow, presented his soldiers (to whom he could not refuse this last testimony of friendship) his dying hand to kiss. After this, his principal courtiers asked to whom he left the empire? he answered, "to the most worthy;" adding, that he foresaw the decision of this would give occasion to strange funeral games after his decease. And Perdiccas, inquiring further at what time they should pay him divine honours? He replied, "When you are happy." These were his last words, and soon after he expired. He was thirty-two years and eight months old, of which he had reigned twelve. He died

died in the middle of the spring, the first year of the CXIVth Olympiad *.

The moment Alexander's death was known, the whole palace echoed with cries and groans. The vanquished bewailed him with as many tears as the victors. The grief for his death occasioning the remembrance of his many good qualities, all his faults were forgotten. This great mourning was not confined merely to Babylon, but spread over all the provinces.

The Ægyptians and Chaldeans having embalmed the king's corpse after their manner, Arideus was appointed to convey it to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. † Two whole years were employed in preparing for this magnificent funeral.

* Year of the world, 3613; before Christ, 328 years.

† *Ælian*. l. 13. c. 39.

CHAP.

their
Italy,
world
forme
forty



C H A P. III.

Of the most memorable wars of the Romans.*

THE Romans, when their city was first founded, having at their option what kind of government to choose, declared in favour of a monarchy, and elected Romulus king of Rome; this kind of government subsisted till their seventh king, Tarquinius Superbus, whom they expelled, and then established a republic.

Of the first wars of the Romans, which were rather so many skirmishes with their neighbours, than regular battles, to enlarge their own little territory, we have few particulars sufficiently interesting or entertaining to find a place in this work, however, those most worthy of notice will not be passed over.

* Their city Rome, from whence they had their name, was the capital city of Latium, in Italy, was founded by Romulus; year of the world 3253, before Christ 748, or 751; but not formed into a republic, till two hundred and forty four years after its first foundation.

Of

Of this kind I conceive the battle, or combat, between the Horatii and Curatii, with which I shall begin. At the commencement of the reign of Tullus Hostilius, the neighbouring people of Alba, jealous of the increasing greatness of the Romans, wanted to provoke them to engage in a war with them, to this purpose, they secretly directed some of the poorest of their subjects to commit trespasses on the country of Rome. The Romans naturally attacked these robbers, who, flying into their own country, were pursued by an army of Romans, into the territories of Alba, many of them killed, and a great number taken prisoners. Cluilius, who was then at the head of affairs in Alba, took occasion from this affair, to persuade the people of Alba to demand satisfaction of the Romans, for this hostile intrusion into their country, whilst the Romans did the same from them, for the outrages committed by their robbers in the territories of Rome.

No sooner were the thirty days expired, which the Roman *feciales* † had allowed to

† The *feciales*, were priests whose business it was to demand satisfaction for the injuries Rome received from her enemies; to proclaim war against them, in case of refusal, and to take care that all treaties with the neighbouring nations were faithfully observed.

Cluilius,

Cluilius, to accommodate the dispute between the two states, than both armies took the field. However, both parties remained in sight of each, without attempting any thing. This provoked the Albans, who reproaching Cluilius as the author of a mock war; he determined to offer the Romans battle, or, on their refusal to force their intrenchments; but he died suddenly the same night. The Albans elected in his stead, Metius Tuffetius, or Suffetius, no way inferior to his predecessor in hatred to the Romans.

At last an interview was had between Tuffetius and Tullus, when the latter acquainted the other, that the Veientes and Fidanates both waited till they had fought together, intending then to fall upon both armies, and that therefore it would be best for both to conclude upon a mutual peace, Tullus acknowledged the truth of the intelligence, and his readiness amicably to adjust their disputes, proposing that the chief families of Alba, should remove to Rome, or that one common council should be formed to govern both cities, under direction of one of the two sovereigns. But the difficulty was to settle which city should have the pre-eminence. At last Tullus proposed to determine this by a single combat between him and the Alban general; but this was declined by the latter, who proposed that three champions should be chosen out

out of each army to decide this dispute, to which Tullus consented.

The youth of both armies were all eager to have this honour; whilst the Alban general thought of three young men in the camp, whose births were attended with something very extraordinary. The case was thus: An illustrious Alban citizen named Sequinus, had two daughters, one he married to Curatius, his fellow citizen; and the other to a citizen of Rome named, Horatius. Both sisters were delivered on the same day, each of three male children, who at this time were in the flower of their youth, and of extraordinary strength and dexterity. Tuffetius, who looked upon their births as appointed by the Gods to determine the fate of their respective countries, proposed them as the combatants to Tullus, desiring he would engage the Horatii to be their opponents. However the Roman king determined not to lay any restraint upon them, only proposed it to the Horatian family. The youths replied, they could only dispose of their lives at the pleasure of their father who had given them. As to the father, he could not but dread a combat wherein the blood of some of his family must be spilt; and at the same time, he considered that one of his daughters was betrothed to

According to Dionysius, Halicarnassensis, lib. iii. p. 148.

one of the Curatii; however, the love of his country prevailed over that of his family; and he left the matter to the decision of his sons. They having nobly accepted of the offered combat, the old man embraced them, and cried out, *I am a happy father!*

And now the hour of engagement drew on, and was declared by sound of trumpets. Tullus led the Horatii and Fuffetius, the Curatii, whilst the people strewed the way with flowers, and, as they esteemed them voluntary victims for their country, crowned them with garlands. The place of combat was a large plain, situated between both armies, into the middle of which the two kings, with their champions and *feciales* † advanced, and before the engagement commenced, concluded the proposed treaty between time. As the ceremony of this was curious, and what the Romans afterwards mostly followed, in making of future treaties I imagine the reader will not be displeased with a relation of it, as recorded by Livy †.

It begun thus: Marcus Valerius, one of the *feciales*, asked the Roman king, “whether he gave them orders to conclude a peace with the *pater patratus* of the Albans.” The

† The meaning of this office I have already explained, page 112.

† l. i. c. 24.

king

king answered, "He did." "Give me then," replied the herald, "the sign of my commission." The sign was to be some virvain plucked up by the roots. "Yes," answered the king, "bring me some virvain that is pure." At these words the *fecialis* went and gathered some virvain on a little hill, brought it and went on thus: "Do you then appoint me *fecialis* and plenipotentiary of Rome to the Albans, and engage to protect my equipage and retinue?" "Yes," replied the king, "so far as is consistent with my interest and that of the Roman people." Then Valerius, the *fecialis*, appointed Spurius Fufius, to be *pater patratus** of the treaty, by crowning him with virvain. After this ceremonial, which passed only among the Romans, the new *pater patratus*

* His officer, as such was to pronounce aloud the words of the oath, in the name of the Roman king and people, and to repeat the whole form of the treaty. It is not certain, whether he was a constant officer, and chief of the *feciales*, or a temporary minister, to declare war, or to make peace. This office was intrusted to no person, but who had a father and a son both alive; and therefore *pater patratus*, signifies a more perfect sort of father, as they looked upon him to be, whose father was still living; after he himself had been a father for some time. Yet

some

patratus read the articles of the convention, in the presence of the Albans, and then expressed himself thus: "Hear, O Jupiter, hear, O *pater patratus* of the Alban people; hear, O Alban people; of these articles, as I have just now read them out of the waxen tablets, without fraud or deceit, and as they have been from one end to the other clearly understood, the Roman people will never be the first violators. If they should violate them by public authority, and by fraud, may Jupiter at that instant strike them, as I shall now strike this victim! May thy stroke, great Jupiter, be as much heavier, as thy power is greater!" At which words he killed a sow, which was to be offered up as a sacrifice, in confirmation of the treaty, by a blow on the head with a flint. The Alban heralds took the same kind of oaths, and also offered their sacrifices.

As soon as the ceremony was finished, the three champions on each side slowly advanced, each towards his antagonist; but instead of engaging immediately, as the spec-

some think he was so called from *patra patrando*, *jurejurando*; that is, from the oath he was obliged to take, to attest the justice of his demand. Festus says, he was so called, because by virtue of his commission, he acted as *pater patriæ*, that is, father of his country.

tators

tators expected, they quitted their arms, and flew to embrace each other, in the most tender, sincere, and friendly manner possible. This sensibly affected all who were present, and who, with tears, complained of their kings for obliging such near and affectionate relations to shed each other's blood. Yet these noble youths though they had the feelings of humanity, did not want the courage of heroes; they soon resumed their arms, and each chose his antagonist. The eldest of the Horatii, chose the eldest of the Curatii, and the next two made their choice according to the order in which they were born. The clashing of their arms was heard at a distance, whilst the air was rent with a confused mixture of shouts and acclamations from both camps. The decision was long suspended by the skill and dexterity of the combatants; but at length the eldest Horatius was killed, to the excessive joy of the Albans, and no less consternation and grief of the Romans, which were soon after increased by the second Horatius being pierced through the body, and who fell down on the body of his brother. As to the Curiatii they were all three wounded, but the surviving Horatius still preserved his full vigour, not having received any hurt. But prudently considering himself unable to oppose the three brothers together, he endeavoured to separate them; for this purpose, he retreated, as
if



Military Ensigns

if he
Cur
ces,
wea
Hon
befo
and
turn
the
arm
tion
acqu
ther
salu
wha
" I
Alb
orde
ente
7
fide
suec
que
seein
unh
tary
own
had
tear
vill
repr
V

if he had designed to fly from them, and the Curiatii pursuing him, but at unequal distances, as their strength enabled them, being all weakened by their wounds; the retreating Horatius, killed him who was nearest him, before the others came up to his assistance, and thus retreating and turning back by turns slew all the three Curiatii, and seized the spoil of the vanquished. The Roman army now resounded with joyful acclamations in honour of their hero, and thus Rome acquired the superiority over Alba her mother city, nor did Tuffetius dispute it, but saluting Tullus as his sovereign, asked him what where his commands; who replied, "I command you nothing, but to keep the Alban youth in readiness to march at my orders, in case I make war with the Veientes."

Thus far, all went happily on the Roman side, but a very disagreeable affair soon ensued. For as Horatius was returning conqueror to the city, his sister met him; when seeing him loaded with the spoils of the three unhappy brothers, among which was a military robe, which she had wrought with her own hands for the Curiatius, to whom she had been betrothed, she could not forbear tearing her hair, beating her breast, and reviling her brother in the most provoking and reproachful manner, for having stained his

hands with the blood of such near relations. This treatment Horatius, elate with his great victory, was not able to bear, and provoked at her grief and sharp resentment, rashly killed her on the spot, and went directly to his father's house, who even approved the action, and would not suffer his daughter to be buried in their family sepulchre. Horatius however, was tried for this murder, and justly condemned to die, but appealing to an assembly of the people, they, out of admiration of his courage, though sensible of the justness of his sentence, revoked it. But, that the crime might not pass entirely unpunished, Horatius was obliged to pass under the yoke*; an ignominy to which prisoners of war, who had cowardly surrendered their arms, were commonly forced to submit. The Albans, soon after having treacherously broken this treaty, the Romans demolished their city, and removed most of the citizens to Rome, the chief of whom they admitted into the Roman senate; and all, without exception, were received to the privilege of citizens of Rome.

* What the yoke was, see the note, page 84, Vol. II. of this work.

The battle of Regillus.

IN the same year * that Aulus Posthumus, and T. Virginus were consuls at Rome, the truce that had been made between that city and the Latins, for one year expired; and both parties prepared for war. The nobility of Latium, who were mostly in the interest of the Tarquin's, who had been expelled Rome, having found means to remove the citizens from the Latin diets, became very powerful in those assemblies. This made many of the citizens remove to Rome, where they were well received.

The Roman senate, at this conjuncture, directed the consuls † to choose one of themselves

* Year of Rome 255; before Christ 493.

† The Romans having been governed by kings, from the building of their city, two hundred and forty-two years, banished their last king, Tarquin and all his family, and established a common-wealth, introducing a new form of government which continued pretty nearly the same till the time of their emperors. According to the plan of government which the people now adopted, and which was proposed by Brutus, two officers of state were annually chosen, called consuls, from *consulere*, as signifying, to watch for the

selves to be dictator*; when Virginius readily yielded it to his colleague Posthumius.

The new dictator appointed Æbutius Elva, his general of the horse, and divided his army

the public good; or importing to consult, or ask counsel. They were allowed the common use of the sceptre, and crown, and an habit of distinction, and Livy says, that on the days of their triumphs, in the public sports, and at solemn sacrifices, they wore a crown of gold and an habit striped with purple, as the kings did.

* This officer of state was first introduced about ten years after the establishment of consuls. He was either so called from *dictus*, that is, named by the consul, or from his dictating and commanding what should be done. He most first have been a consul; this office was to end in six months; perpetual dictatorships were intruments and violations of the laws of the country. The power of the dictator, was absolute, except only in these particulars: he was not to march out of Italy, that he might have no opportunity to engage in any thing against the common liberty. He was always to march on foot, except in case of a tedious, or sudden expedition, and then he formally asked leave of the people to ride. He had a power to proclaim war, levy forces, lead them out, disband them, &c. without consulting the senate; and the power of all other magistrates, ceased, or they were subordinate to him.

into four bodies, one of which he left under the command of Sempronius, to take care of the city, and the other three were commanded by himself, Virginius, and his general Æbutius. He then marched to oppose the Latins, who had an army of forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, commanded by three generals. They had seized upon Corbio, a hold belonging to the Roman republic, the garrison of which they had put to the sword. The dictator encamped in the night, on a steep hill near the lake Regillus, from which the ensuing battle hath been since known by that name, as did Virginius on a hill opposite to him. Æbutius was commanded to march as privately as he could, the same night, with the horse and light-armed infantry, to get possession of a third hill upon the road, by which the Latins received provisions.

But before the latter could fortify his camp, he was warmly attacked by one of the Latin generals, Lucius Tarquinius, but being reinforced by the dictator he repulsed the Latins three times. Two messengers from the Volsci to the Latin generals were afterwards taken by Æbutius; upon examining their letters, he learned that a very large army of the Volsci and Hernici, was in three days time to join the Latin forces. This determined the dictator to get ready to attack the enemy immediately, to which purpose he collected

selves to be dictator * ; when Virginius readily yielded it to his colleague Posthumius.

The new dictator appointed Æbutius Elva, his general of the horse, and divided his army

the public good ; or importing to consult, or ask counsel. They were allowed the common use of the sceptre, and crown, and an habit of distinction, and Livy says, that on the days of their triumphs, in the public sports, and at solemn sacrifices, they wore a crown of gold and an habit striped with purple, as the kings did.

* This officer of state was first introduced about ten years after the establishment of consuls. He was either so called from *dictus*, that is, named by the consul, or from his dictating and commanding what should be done. He must first have been a consul ; this office was to end in six months ; perpetual dictatorships were intrusions and violations of the laws of the country. The power of the dictator, was absolute, except only in these particulars : he was not to march out of Italy, that he might have no opportunity to engage in any thing against the common liberty. He was always to march on foot, except in case of a tedious, or sudden expedition and then he formally asked leave of the people to ride. He had a power to proclaim war, levy forces, lead them out, disband them, &c. without consulting the senate ; and the power of all other magistrates, ceased, or they were subordinate to him.

into four bodies, one of which he left under the command of Sempronius, to take care of the city, and the other three were commanded by himself, Virginius, and his general Æbutius. He then marched to oppose the Latins, who had an army of forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, commanded by three generals. They had seized upon Corbio, a hold belonging to the Roman republic, the garrison of which they had put to the sword. The dictator encamped in the night, on a steep hill near the lake Regillus, from which the ensuing battle hath been since known by that name, as did Virginius on a hill opposite to him. Æbutius was commanded to march as privately as he could, the same night, with the horse and light-armed infantry, to get possession of a third hill upon the road, by which the Latins received provisions.

But before the latter could fortify his camp, he was warmly attacked by one of the Latin generals, Lucius Tarquinius, but being reinforced by the dictator he repulsed the Latins three times. Two messengers from the Volsci to the Latin generals were afterwards taken by Abutius; upon examining their letters, he learned that a very large army of the Volsci and Hernici, was in three days time to join the Latin forces. This determined the dictator to get ready to attack the enemy immediately, to which purpose he collected

together the three divisions of his army, in all, but twenty-four thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Having disposed of his army in battle-array, and spirited up his men to action, he moved towards the enemy's camp. The Latins, as they were sensible how greatly they exceeded the Romans in number, were very ready to engage. In the centre of their army, was Titus Tarquinius who had under his command the Roman exiles and deserters; on the right wing was Mamilius, and on the left Sextus Tarquinius.

The dictator advanced first, when T. Tarquinius, singling him out, ran full speed at him, who did not avoid him, but flew at him, and wounded him in the right side, with his javelin. The first line of the Latin's observing this, immediately, drew up to cover their general, but he being obliged to be removed out of the field of battle, and they being attacked by troops under the dictator, made a poor defence, having now no longer a commander, and were retreating; but Sextus Tarquinius soon took his brother's place, and brought them back; when the battle became very fierce, and victory doubtful, where they engaged.

The parties under Mamilius and Æbutius, fought together with no less courage and obstinacy, when at length to determine what had continued so long doubtful, the two

com-

commanders agreed to engage in single combat, and pushing their horses against each other, Mamilius was wounded in the breast, with a lance by Æbutius, who also received a wound in his arm by the former, but neither of them mortally, yet both of them were so much hurt, as to fall from their horses; and thus the combat ended. Poplicola's brother, Marcus Valerius, supplied the absence of Æbutius, and with the Roman horse strove to break the enemy's battalions, but was repulsed by their cavalry. Mamilius returned to the field again, with a large force of horse, and light-armed infantry. Valerius, assisted by his two nephews, the sons of Poplicola, and a select troop of volunteers, endeavoured to force their way through the Latin battalions, to attack Mamilius, but the Roman exiles surrounded him, and he receiving a mortal wound in his side, dropped down dead from his horse. His nephews carried off his corpse, notwithstanding the opposition of the exiles, to Valerius's servants, who carried the body to the Roman camp. As to these two brave youths, having too numerous a body to oppose, they were at last surrounded and killed. And the left wing of the Romans gave way; but Posthumius, the dictator, soon brought them back, and with the assistance of some Roman knights, furiously attacked the royalists.

alists†, who bravely maintained their ground, but at last were forced to retreat in great confusion. Another part of the Roman army having been forced to fly, Titus Horminius, one of the dictator's lieutenants, rallied them, and attacked some close battalions of the enemy's right wing, commanded by Mamilius, whom he killed and routed the forces under him, but busying himself in stripping his dead body, he received a wound which in a little time after proved his death.

Whilst these things were transacting, Sextus Tarquinius fought with great bravery, at the head of the left wing, against the consul Virginus, and broke the right wing of the Roman army, and was very likely to have proved conqueror, but was soon deprived of his hopes by the dictator, who attacked him with his victorious squadrons; enraged therefore at this unhappy reverse, he desperately rushed into the middle of a body of Roman knights, and after having given most amazing proofs of his great courage, dropt down dead covered with innumerable wounds. The three Latin generals, being now dead, their army was soon routed, their camp taken and plundered, and most of their

† Those who supported the cause of the royal family of the banished Tarquins.

men killed; scarcely ten thousand escaping out of the forty thousand that first began the engagement.

The Latins, now were obliged to sue for a peace, and the Romans consented to renew their ancient treaties with them, on condition that they should restore the prisoners they had taken, deliver up the deserters, and expel out of the city of Latium, the Roman exiles. Tarquin late king of Rome; in whose favour this war had been waged by the Latins being now abandoned by them retired into Campania, to Aristodemus tyrant of Cumæ, and there died, in the ninetieth year of his age, and fourteenth of his banishment from Rome. And thus the freedom of the Romans became secure to them; he being the last of the family of the Tarquins.

Rome taken and burnt by the Gauls.

WE frequently find in history that very trivial causes have often produced most extraordinary and remote events, as will appear in the present case, when we inquire what occasioned the irruption of the Gauls into Italy, and the taking of Rome. which Livy † informs us happened thus: a principal citizen of Clusium, in Hetruria, named Aruns,

† Liv. v. c. 33.

was guardian to a young *lucumo*†, whom he educated in his own house, from his infancy. When he grew up to manhood he fell in love with his guardian's wife; but their intrigue being discovered he conveyed her away. In vain did Arunx endeavour to obtain justice against this lord, his interest and riches, prejudiced the magistrates in his favour; this provoked him to help himself by another means; and he accordingly applied to the Gauls, in particular to the Senones, whom he informed of the great plenty of Italy, and gave them some Italian wines to taste. Upon this the Senones resolved to follow him, for which purpose a numerous army was prepared, which passing the Alps, under the guidance of Arunx, and leaving the Celtæ in Italy unmolested, attacked the Umbrians, and made themselves masters of all the country, from Ravenna to Picenum. Their settling themselves in their new acquisitions took them up about six years.

† *Hetruria*, or *Etruria*, was divided into twelve tribes, or cantons, called in the Tuscan language *lucumonies*. Each of these tribes was governed by its own prince, or *lucumo*, and over the whole a king presided. Every *lucumo* took upon himself the administration of affairs in his own province, and distributed justice to his own subjects.

The

The Romans, notwithstanding the daily conquests made by the Gauls, seem to have been under no apprehension of any danger from them; but, indulging their domestic quarrels, listened to a trifling, ill-natured accusation brought against Camillus, the only general they had capable of opposing such a formidable enemy. His friends not being able to protect him, promised to pay the fine that should be laid upon him; but Camillus, having too great a soul to bear the affront of a public condemnation, voluntarily imposed banishment upon himself, and retired from Rome.

Soon after this Arunx led the Gauls to Clusium, to besiege that city, where his wife and her lover had sheltered themselves. The inhabitants of the city, alarmed at the sight of this army of strangers, sent envoys to Rome, to implore the assistance of the republic against the Gauls, now besieging their city. But the senate, being unwilling to engage in an open war with a nation which had never offended them, sent an embassy of three young patricians, all brothers, and of the Fabian family, to bring about an accommodation between the two nations. These ambassadors, being arrived at the camp of the Gauls, and conducted into the council, offered the mediation of Rome; and, demanded of Brennus, the leader of the Gauls, what injury the Clusini had done him; or

what pretensions any people from a remote country could have upon *Hetruria*. *Brennus* answered proudly, "That his right lay in his sword, and that all things belonged to the brave; but that, without having recourse to this primitive law of nature, he had a just complaint against the *Clusians*, who, having more lands than they could cultivate, had refused to yield to him those they left untilled; and what other motives had you yourselves, *Romans* (said he), to conquer so many neighbouring nations? You have deprived the *Sabines*, the *Albans*, the *Fidenates*, the *Æqui*, and the *Volsci*, of the best part of their territories. Not that we accuse you of injustice; but it is evident, that you thought this to be the prime and most ancient of all laws, to make the weak give way to the strong. Forbear, therefore, to interest yourselves for the *Clusini*, or allow us to take the part of the people you have subdued †."

The *Fabii* were highly provoked at so haughty an answer; but, dissembling their resentment, desired leave to go into the town, under pretence of conferring with the magistrates. But they were no sooner there, than they began to stir up the inhabitants to a vigorous defence; nay, forgetting their

† *Liv.* 1. 5. c. 35.

character, they put themselves at the head of the besieged in a sally, in which Q. Fabius, the chief of the ambassadors, slew with his own hand one of the principal officers of the Gauls. Hereupon Brennus, calling the gods to witness the perfidiousness of the Romans, and their violating the law of nations, immediately broke up the siege of Clusium, and marched leisurely to Rome, having sent an herald before him to demand, that those ambassadors, who had so manifestly violated the law of nations, should be delivered up to him. The Roman senate was greatly perplexed, between their regard for the law of nations, and their affection for the Fabii. The wisest of the senate thought the demand of the Gauls to be but just and reasonable: however, as it concerned persons of great consequence and credit, the conscript fathers referred the affair to the people assembled by curiæ. As the Fabian family was very popular, the curiæ were so far from condemning the three brothers, that, at the next election of military tribunes, they were chosen the first. Brennus, looking upon the promotion of the Fabii as an high affront on his nation, hastened his march to Rome.

As his army was very numerous, the inhabitants of the towns and villages through

which he passed, left their habitations at his approach; but he stopped no-where, declaring that his design was only to be revenged on the Romans. The six military tribunes, to wit, Q. Fabius, Cæso Fabius, Caius Fabius, Q. Sulpitius, Q. Servilius, and Sextus Cornelius, marched out of Rome at the head of forty thousand men, without either sacrificing to the Gods, or consulting the auspices; essential ceremonies, among a people that drew their courage and confidence from the propitious signs which the augurs declared to them. As most of the military tribunes were young, and men of more valour than experience, they advanced boldly against the Gauls, whose army was seventy thousand strong. The two armies met near the river Allia, about sixty furlongs from Rome. The Romans, that they might not be surrounded by the enemy, extended their wings so far as to make their centre very thin. Their best troops, to the number of twenty-four thousand men, they posted between the river and the adjoining hills; the rest they placed on the hills. The Gauls first attacked the latter, who being soon put into confusion, the forces in the plain were struck with such terror, that they fled without drawing their swords. In this general disorder, most of the soldiers, instead of returning to Rome, fled to Veii; some were drowned as they endeavoured to swim cross
the

the Tiber; many fell in the pursuit by the sword of the conquerors, and some got to Rome, which they filled with terror and consternation, it being believed there, that all the rest were cut off. The day after the battle Brennus marched his troops into the neighbourhood of Rome, and encamped on the banks of the Anio. Thither his scouts brought him word, that the gates of the city lay open, and that not one Roman was to be seen on the ramparts. This made him apprehensive of some ambuscade, it being unreasonable to suppose, that the Romans would abandon their city to be plundered and sacked without making any resistance. On this consideration he advanced slowly, which gave the Romans an opportunity to throw into the capitol all the men who were fit to bear arms. They carried into it all the provisions they could get; and, that they might last the longer, admitted none into the place, but such as were capable of defending it.

As for the city, they had not sufficient forces to defend it; and therefore the old men, women, and children, seeing themselves abandoned, fled to the neighbouring towns. The Vestals, before they left Rome, took care to hide every thing appropriated to the gods, which they could not carry off. The two palladiums, and the sacred fire, they took with them. When they came to Jani

Janiculus, one Albinus, a plebeian, who was conveying his wife and children in a carriage to a place of safety, seeing the sacred virgins bending under their load, and their feet bloody, made his family alight, put the priestesses and their gods into the carriage, and conducted them to Cære, a city of Hetruria, where they met with a favourable reception. The Vestals remained at Cære, and there continued to perform the usual rites of religion; and hence those rites were called Ceremonies. But while the rest of the citizens at Rome were providing for their safety, about fourscore of the most illustrious and venerable old men, rather than fly from their native city, chose to devote themselves to death by a vow, which Fabius, the high pontiff, pronounced in their names. The Romans believed, that, by these voluntary devotements to the infernal Gods, disorder and confusion was brought among the enemy. Of these brave old men, some were pontifices, others had been consuls, and others generals of armies, who had been honoured with triumphs. To complete their sacrifice with a solemnity and pomp becoming the magnanimity of the Romans, they dressed themselves in their pontifical, consular, and triumphal robes, and, repairing to the forum, seated themselves there in their curule chairs, expecting

the

the enemy and death with the greatest constancy†.

At length, Brennus, having spent three days in useless precautions, entered the city the fourth day after the battle. He found the gates open, the walls without defence, and the houses without inhabitants. Rome appeared to him like a mere desert; and this solitude increased his anxiety. He could not believe, either that all the Romans were lodged in the capitol, or that so numerous a people should abandon the place of their nativity. On the other hand, he could nowhere see any armed men but on the walls of the citadel. However, having first secured all the avenues to the capitol with strong bodies of guards, he gave the rest of his soldiers leave to disperse themselves all over the city, and plunder it. Brennus himself advanced into the forum with the troops under his command in good order; and there he was struck with admiration at the unexpected sight of the venerable old men, who had devoted themselves to death. Their magnificent habits, the majesty of their countenances, the silence they kept, their modesty and constancy at the approach of his troops, made them take them for so many deities; for they continued as motionless as

† Plut. in Camillo. Liv. l. v. c. 37---40.

statues.

statues, and saw the enemy advance without shewing the least concern. The Gauls kept a great while at an awful distance from them, being afraid to come near them; but at length one soldier, bolder than the rest, having, out of curiosity, touched the beard of M. Papirius, the venerable old man, not being used to such familiarity, gave him a blow on the head with his ivory staff. The soldier, in revenge, immediately killed him; and the rest of the Gauls, following his example, slaughtered all those venerable old men without mercy †.

After this the enemy set no bounds to their rage and fury. They plundered all places, dragging such of the Romans as had shut themselves up in their houses, into the streets, and there putting them to the sword, without distinction of age, or sex. Brennus then invested the capitol, but, being repulsed with great loss, in order to be revenged of the Romans for their resistance, he resolved to lay the city in ashes. ‡ Accordingly, by his command, the soldiers set fire to the houses, demolished the temples and public edifices, and rased the walls to the ground. Thus was the famous city of Rome entirely destroyed; nothing was to be seen in the place

Liv. l. 5. c. 41.

† Year of Rome, 1965. Before Christ, 383.
 where

where it stood, but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waste, in which the Gauls, who invested the capitol, were encamped. Brennus, finding he should never be able to take a place, which nature had so well fortified, otherwise than by famine, turned the siege into a blockade. But, in the mean time, his army being distressed for want of provisions, he sent out parties to pillage the fields, and raise contributions in the neighbouring cities. One of these parties appeared before Ardea, where the great Camillus had now spent two years in a private life. Notwithstanding the affront he had received at Rome, the love he bore his country was not in the least diminished. The senate of Ardea being met to deliberate on the measures to be taken with relation to the Gauls, Camillus, more afflicted at the calamities of his country, than at his own banishment, desired to be admitted into the council, where, with his eloquence, he prevailed upon the Ardeates to arm their youth in their own defence, and refuse the Gauls admittance into their city.

Hereupon the Gauls encamped before the city; and, as they despised the Ardeates, after they had made themselves of Rome, they preserved neither order nor discipline in the camp, but spent whole days in drinking. Hereupon Camillus, having easily persuaded the youth of the city to follow him, marched out of Ardea in a very dark night, surprised the

the Gauls drowned in wine, and made a dreadful slaughter of them. Those who made their escape under the shelter of the night, fell next day into the hands of the peasants, by whom they were massacred without mercy. This defeat of the enemy revived the courage of the Romans scattered about the country, especially of those who had retired to Veii after the unfortunate battle of Allia. There was not one who did not condemn himself for the exile of Camillus, as if he had been the author of it; and, looking upon that great man as their last resource, they resolved to choose him for their leader. Accordingly, they sent without delay ambassadors to him, beseeching him to take into his protection the fugitive Romans, and the wrecks of the defeat at Allia. But Camillus would not accept of the command of the troops, till the people assembled by curiæ had legally conferred it upon him. He thought the public authority was lodged in the hands of those who were shut up in the citadel, and therefore would undertake nothing at the head of the Roman troops, till a commission was brought him from thence.

To do this was very difficult, the place being invested on all sides by the enemy. However, one Pontius Cominius, a man of mean birth, but bold, and very ambitious of glory, undertook it. He put on a light habit, and, providing himself with cork to

keep

keep the longer above water, threw himself into the Tiber, above Rome, in the beginning of the night, and suffered himself to be carried down with the stream. At length he came to the foot of the capitol, and landed at a steep place, where the Gauls had not thought it necessary to post any centinels. There he mounted, with great difficulty, to the rampart of the citadel, and, having made himself known to the guard, he was admitted into the place, and conducted to the magistrates. The senate being assembled, Pontius gave them an account of Camillus's victory, and, in the name of all the Romans at Veii, demanded that great captain for their general. There was not much time spent in debates: the curiæ being called together, the act of condemnation, which had been passed on Camillus, was abrogated, and he named dictator with one voice. Pontius was immediately dispatched with the decree; and the same good fortune, which had attended him to the capitol, accompanied him in his return. Thus was Camillus, from the state of banishment, raised at once to be sovereign magistrate of his country. He was indeed proclaimed dictator in his absence, contrary to custom: but this was a small defect in point of form only, which the necessities of the state made very excusable. His promotion to the command was no sooner known, but soldiers flocked from all parts to his

his camp; infomuch that he soon saw himself at the head of above forty thousand men, partly Romans, and partly allies, who all thought themselves invincible under so great a general *.

While he was taking proper measures to raise the blockade of the citadel, some Gauls, rambling round the place, perceived, on the side of the hill, the print of Pontius's hands and feet. They observed, likewise, that the moss on the rocks was in several places torn up. From these marks they concluded, that somebody had lately gone up to, and returned from, the capitol. The Gauls immediately made their report to Brennus, of what they had observed; and that experienced commander laid a design, which he imparted to nobody, of surprising the place by the same way the Roman had ascended. With this view he chose out of his army such soldiers as had dwelt in mountainous countries, and been accustomed from their youth to climb precipices. These he ordered, after he had well examined the nature of the place, to ascend in the night the same way that was marked out for them, climbing two a-breast, that one might support the other in getting up the steep parts of the precipice. By this means they advanced, with

* Plut. in Camillo, Liv. l. v. c. 46.

much difficulty, and more danger, from rock to rock, till they arrived at the foot of the wall. They proceeded with such silence, that they were not discovered, or heard, either by the centinels who were upon guard in the citadel, or even by the dogs, that are usually awaked and alarmed at the least noise. But though they eluded the sagacity of the dogs, they could not escape the vigilance of the geese. A flock of these birds was kept in a court of the capitol, in honour of Juno, and near her temple. Notwithstanding the want of provisions in the garrison, they had been spared out of religion; and as these creatures are naturally quick of hearing, they were alarmed at the first approach of the Gauls; so that, running up and down, with their cackling, and beating of their wings, they awaked Manlius, a gallant soldier, who some years ago had been consul. He sounded an alarm, and was the first man who mounted the rampart, where he found two Gauls already upon the wall. One of these offered to discharge a blow at him with his battle-ax; but Manlius cut off his right hand at one blow, and gave the other such a push with his buckler, that he threw him headlong from the top of the rock to the bottom; he, in his fall, drew many others with him; and, in the mean time, the Romans, crowding to the place, pressed upon the Gauls, and tumbled them one over another. As the nature

ture of the ground would not suffer them to make a regular retreat, or even to fly, most of them, to avoid the swords of the enemy, threw themselves down the precipice; so that very few got safe back to their camp †

As it was the custom of the Romans, at that time, not to suffer any commendable action to go unrewarded, the tribune Sulpitius assembled his troops the next morning, in order to bestow the military rewards on those who, the night before, had deserved them. Among these Manlius was first named, and, in acknowledgement of the important service he had just rendered the state, every soldier gave him part of the corn which he received sparingly from the public stock, and a little measure of wine out of his scanty allowance. An inconsiderable present, indeed, of itself, but very acceptable, at that time, to the person on whom it was bestowed. The tribune's next care was to punish the negligent: accordingly, the captain of the guard, who ought to have had an eye over the centinels, was condemned to die, and, pursuant to his sentence, thrown down from the top of the capitol. The Romans extended their punishments and rewards even to the animals. Geese were ever after had in honour at Rome,

† Liv. l. v. c. 47. Plut. in Camill. & de fortuna Rom.

em to
most
nemy,
so that
ns, at
ble ac-
lpitius
in or-
those
them.
, and,
service
soldier
ceived
a little
wance.
itself,
to the
he tri-
ligent:
, who
tinels,
to his
of the
unish-
imals.
Rome,

de for
and



and a flock of them always kept in the
 arms of the public. A good many of
 people were excited in memory of them, and
 people every year carried in great numbers
 the latter finely adorned with gold and
 and in abundance by the Romans, and
 every year brought out of them as a trophy
 of others.
 The objects of the Romans, and others
 which were carried, as they were taken in
 was to be very likely that they were the
 and the Romans, and the Romans, and
 in the memory of the Romans, and the
 of the Romans, and the Romans, and
 on all the sides, and the Romans, and
 it out, and the Romans, and the
 The Romans, and the Romans, and
 was brought in, and the Romans, and
 in the memory of the Romans, and the
 means of the Romans, and the Romans,
 his camp, and the Romans, and the
 the Romans, and the Romans, and the
 being conducted among the Romans, and
 the Romans, upon the Romans, and the
 found. So great a number of them were
 one year of the Romans, and the
 which were taken in the Romans, and
 where the Romans, and the Romans, and
 in the memory of the Romans, and the
 the Romans, and the Romans, and the
 last year, and the Romans, and the



and
 peno
 good
 good
 lost
 held
 ever
 of el
 T
 laste
 gan
 siege
 his n
 ter o
 on a
 fir
 Thu
 was
 inco
 man
 his o
 the
 lying
 the
 bur
 one
 war
 whe
 burn
 in t
 than
 last
 V

and a flock of them always kept at the expence of the public. A golden image of a goose was erected in memory of them, and a goose every year carried in triumph upon a soft litter finely adorned; whilst dogs were held in abhorrence by the Romans, who every year impaled one of them on a branch of elder.

The blockade of the capitol had already lasted seven months; so that the famine began to be very sensibly felt, both by the besieged and the besiegers. Camillus, since his nomination to the dictatorship, being master of the country, had posted strong guards on all the roads; so that the Gauls dared not stir out, for fear of being cut to pieces. Thus Brennus, who besieged the capitol, was besieged himself, and suffered the same inconveniencies which he had made the Romans undergo. Besides, a plague raged in his camp, which was placed in the midst of the ruins of the demolished city, his men lying confusedly among the dead carcases of the Romans, whom they had slain, and not buried. So great a number of them died in one quarter of the city, that it was afterwards called *Busta Gallica*, or the place where the dead bodies of the Gauls were burnt. But, in the mean time, the Romans in the capitol were more pinched with want than the Gauls. They were reduced to the last extremity, and at the same time, igno-

rant both of the lamentable condition to which the enemy's army was brought, and of the steps Camillus was taking to relieve them. That great general only waited for a favourable opportunity to fall upon the enemy; but, in the mean time, suffered them to pine away in their infected camp, not knowing the extreme want the Romans endured in the capitol, where they were so destitute of all sorts of provisions, that they could no longer subsist. Matters being brought to this sad pass on both sides, the centinels of the capitol, and those of the enemy's army, began to talk to one another of an accomodation. Their discourses came at length to the ears of their leaders, who were not averse to the design.

The senate, not knowing what was become of Camillus, and finding themselves hard pinched by hunger, resolved to enter upon a negociation, and impowered Sulpitius, one of the military tribunes, to treat with the Gauls, who made no great difficulty in coming to terms, they being no less desirous than the Romans to put an end to the war. In a conference, therefore, between Brennus and Sulpitius, an agreement was made, and sworn to. The Romans were to pay to the Gauls a thousand weight of gold, that is, forty-five thousand pounds; and the latter were to raise the siege of the capitol, and

quit

quit all the Roman territories. On the day appointed, Sulpitius brought the sum agreed on, and Brennus the scales and weights; for there were no gold, or silver, coins at that time, metals only passing by weight. We are told, that the weights of the Gauls were false, and their scales untrue; which Sulpitius complaining of, Brennus, instead of redressing the injustice, threw his sword and belt into the scale, where the weights were; and when the tribune asked him the meaning of so extraordinary a behaviour, the only answer he gave was, "Væ victis!" "Woe to the conquered!" Sulpitius was so stung with this haughty answer, that he was for carrying the gold back into the capitol, and sustaining the siege to the last extremity; but others thought it adviseable to put up that affront, since they had submitted to a far greater one, which was to pay any thing at all.

During these disputes of the Roman deputies among themselves, and with the Gauls, Camillus advanced with his army to the very gates of the city, and being there informed of what was doing, he commanded the main body to follow him slowly, and in good order, while he, with the choicest of his men, hastened to the place of the parly. The Romans, overjoyed at his unexpected arrival, opened to make room for him, as the supreme magistrate of the republic, gave him an ac-

count of the treaty they had made with the Gauls, and complained of the wrong Brennus did them in the execution of it. They had scarce done speaking, when Camillus cried out, "Carry back this gold into the capitol, and you, Gauls, retire with your scales and weights. Rome must not be redeemed with gold, but with steel." "Brennus replied, that he contravened a treaty, which was concluded and confirmed with mutual oaths." "Be it so," answered Camillus; "yet is it of no force, having been made by an inferior magistrate, without the privity or consent of the dictator. I, who am invested with the supreme authority over the Romans, declare the contract void." At these words, Brennus flew into a rage, and, both sides drawing their swords, a confused scuffle ensued among the ruins of the houses, and in the narrow lanes. The Gauls, after an inconsiderable loss, thought fit to retire within their camp, which they abandoned in the night, not caring to engage Camillus's whole army, and, having marched eight miles, encamped on the Gabinian way. Camillus pursued them as soon as it was day, and coming up with them, gave them a total overthrow. The Gauls, according to Livy, made but a faint resistance, being disheartened at the loss they had sustained the day before. It was not, says that author, so much a battle as a slaughter. Many of the Gauls

were

were slain in the action, more in the pursuit; but the greater number were cut off, as they wandered up and down in the fields, by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages. In short, there was not one single Gaul left to carry his countrymen the news of this fatal catastrophe. The camp of the Barbarians was plundered; and Camillus, loaded with spoils, returned in triumph to the city, the soldiers, in their songs, styling him "Romulus, father of his country, and second founder of Rome.

Another war between the Romans and Gauls.

THE Romans had several engagements with the Gauls, at different periods, between the last mentioned, and the present, but not being particular enough to be mentioned here, I have passed them over to speak of the present war between these two warlike people.

The Romans having carried on a war a long time with the Carthaginians, as I have elsewhere related †, thought it prudent to conclude a peace with the Carthaginians, as the Gauls were in motion in Italy, which they accordingly did ‡, yet seeming to be afraid of

† See Vol. II. page 64.

‡ Before Christ 216 of Rome 532.

the Gauls, they continued some time inactive. In the mean time, the Gauls were very busy in raising troops, and making extraordinary preparations for war. One thing which contributed to intimidate the Romans, was a prophecy, said to be found in the Sibylline books, which was spread all over Rome; the prediction was this: *That the Gauls and Greeks should one day make themselves masters of Rome.* M. Valerius Messala, and L. Apustius, who were this year consuls of Rome, in hopes of removing the fears of the people, consulted the pontifices, or priests, and then caused an edict to be published by the decemviri †, in whose custody the Sibylline books were, which enjoined, that a Greek man and woman, and a Gaulish man and woman, should be buried alive in the ox-market, persuading the credulous superstitious multitude, that this would be a fulfilment of the prophecy, as it might then be truly said, that the Gauls and Greeks had taken possession of Rome §.

The fears of the people being thus removed, though by an act of the highest barbarity, they now thought of providing against the power of the Gauls, they first endeavoured

† They were officers appointed to make new laws, ten in all, as their name implies.

§ Liv. epit. lib. xxii.

to sow divisions among them, and were so successful, as to gain over two considerable nations, the Cenomani and Venati, whose loss the Gauls supplied by raising supplies beyond the Alps, from the Gæsatæ, whom they had, by their ambassadors, prevailed upon to assist them. They were called Gæsatæ, or *hirelings*, as they were always ready to lend out troops to any nation, who could pay them; and were indeed a very warlike people †.

The Romans spent almost the whole year, in raising the most numerous army they had ever had. They drew recruits from all the nations in Italy, under their power, none being excused from sending their appointed part. Polybius says, their whole force amounted to eight hundred thousand men, of which two hundred forty-eight thousand foot, and twenty-six thousand six hundred horse were Romans, or Campanians. Yet the Gauls, who were only fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, began hostilities first, and made their way through Hetruria, and advanced towards Rome.

The time for electing new consuls being come, L. Æmilius Popus, and C. Attilius

† Others say, they were called Gæsatæ, from a particular weapon that they used, called in their language, Gæsum.

Regulus were chosen. Some emotions in Sardinia, made it necessary to send the latter thither, whilst the other took upon him the care of the war against the Gauls, whose number, by their reinforcement from the Gæsatæ, now amounted to two hundred thousand men, under the command of Concolitanus and Aneroeſtus, both of them kings. The conſul Æmilius, fixed his camp near Arminium, to prevent the Gæſatæ from entering the Roman territories by the coaſt of the Adriatic ſea; whilst a body of fifty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, marched into Hetruria, under the command of a prætor. The Gæſatæ, to avoid Æmilius left the Adriatic coaſt, and, croſſing Inſubria, joined the other troops of their nation, in Hetruria, and immediately marched for Rome. They brought the prætor to an action, killed ſix thouſand of his men, and forced the remainder to retreat in great diſorder, to a neighbouring hill, where they entrenched themſelves; but the next morning the Gauls ſurrounded and vigorously attacked their entrenchments. However, the Romans nobly defended themſelves, in hopes they ſhould ſome how, or other, be delivered, though at preſent threatened with death, or ſlavery.

And happily the conſul Æmilius having got intelligence that the Gauls were in the direct road for Rome, quitted his camp, to guard

ons in
e latter
him the
whose
om the
undred
Con-
kings.
p near
om en-
t of the
nd foot,
to He-
. The
driatic
e other
, and
They
led fix
he re-
, to a
enched
Gauls
eir en-
s nobly
should
ugh at
ry.
having
in the
mp, to
guard

Images of the conquered Cities.

*Gold, Silver
& Brafs*



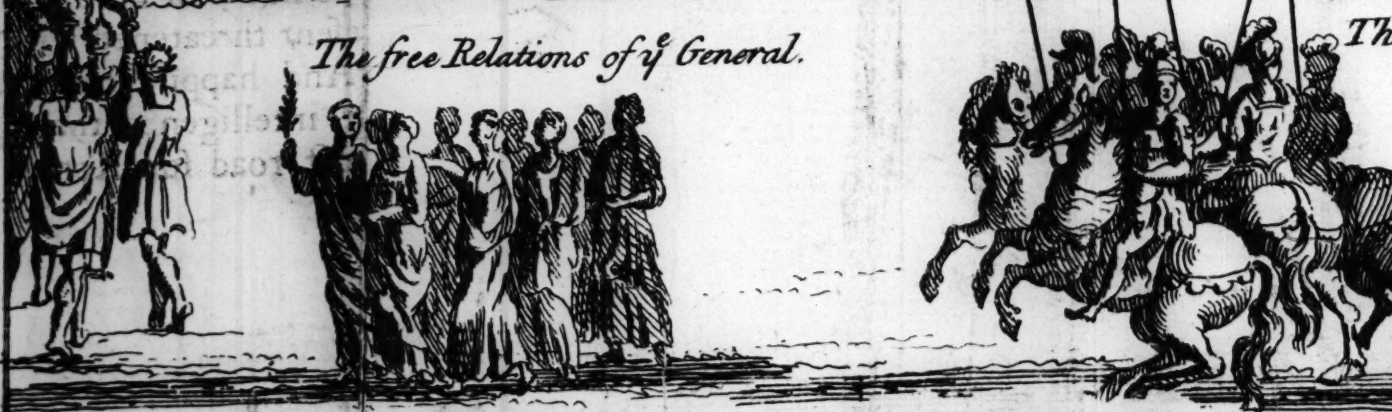
Ensigns & Pictures



The General triumphing



The free Relations of y^e General.



Victims



Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus



Arms of y^e conquer'd Nations



Money



Captives



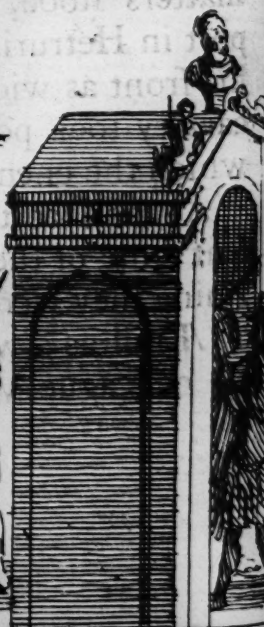
Captive Kings & their Families



Vessels



The Army triumphing





gu
ful
fit
de
th
va
ve
of
th
ho
the
ha
of
alo
ha
the
ban
lan
alo
of t
rec
ma
por
his
cav
wh
A
fen
gin
of
his

guard' the city. As he advanced near to Fæ-
sulæ, he was acquainted with the distressed
situation of the prætor, he therefore instantly
detached, to his assistance, the legions to
the enemy's camp, and himself led the ca-
valry to the foot of the hill, kept closely in-
vested by the Gaulish horse. The approach
of these troops so terrified the Gauls, that
they hastily decamped, in order to march
home through Insubria, and to take care of
the great spoils they had got. Æmilius, who
had strengthened his army with the remainder
of the prætor's forces, followed them close
along the shore of the Hetrurian sea, only to
harrass them in their retreat, but Attilius,
the other consul, having settled the distur-
bances in Sardinia, had, on his return home,
landed his forces at Pisa, and was marching
along the shore to Rome, knowing nothing
of the Gauls being upon the same road. But
receiving intelligence by his scouts, how
matters stood, he stopt at Telamon, a little
port in Hetruria, drew up his army, making
his front as wide as possible; himself and his
cavalry took possession of an eminence, over
which the enemy would be obliged to pass.

As soon as the Gauls perceived this, they
sent some of their horse to attack them, ima-
gining they were a detachment from the army
of Æmilius; who himself did not know that
his colleague was so near, but at last seeing

H.

the

the two armies engage, he concluded that one of them must be that of Attilius, who indeed he knew was arrived at Pisa. The consul therefore instantly sent some squadrons to assist his colleague, which greatly increased the vigour of the Roman cavalry under Attilius, who himself behaved with great resolution and courage, but was killed at last, his head cut off, stuck upon a lance, and carried through the Gaulish army, to keep up the courage of the soldiers. One of his lieutenants succeeded to the command, and the Romans still maintained their courage, and the Gauls gained no advantage by the prætor's death. The Roman infantry took the opportunity of drawing themselves up in the plain, whilst the Gaulish horse were fighting the Romans on the hill.

As the Gauls had two Roman armies to engage with at once, one on their rear, and the other in their front, they were obliged part to face one way, and part the other. Opposite Æmilius, in the first line, were the Gæsatae, and the Insubres behind them. The Taurini were at the head of the other body, and the several nations of the Gauls, who inhabited on each side the Po, were behind them. This latter, turned their backs to the other part of the army, and faced the legions of Attilius which he had brought from Sardinia; thus the Gauls supported each other, and could neither of them retreat.

The

The Gælatæ, before the action began, that they might not entangle their clothes in the brambles and bushes, with which the plain was full, striped themselves naked and thus advanced to the Romans, to their great surprise, filling the air with the sound of their trumpets and horns, according to their custom. The Romans kept a distance from these latter, whilst they shot at them a vast number of darts, yet the Gælatæ, though naked kept their ground, till most of them in the first file were killed, or wounded, when the others began to retreat in disorder, which encouraged the legionaries to draw nearer, and attack them sword in hand.

As to the Gauls, though their arms were inferior to those of the Romans, yet they fought with great resolution, and courage, till the Roman cavalry came down from the hill and fell upon their flank, this brought on a general defeat, and forty thousand Gauls were killed on the spot, and upwards of ten thousand made prisoners, among whom was king Concolitanus. The other king, Aneroestus, who was the best general among the Gauls, fled to a neighbouring village, with some of his officers, where they all killed themselves.

The consul Æmilius, who now had the sole command of both the Roman armies, marched along the borders of Hetruria, entered the plentiful country of the Boii, and gave

gave it up to be plundered by his men, and then advanced to Rome loaded with the spoil, having, as he passed through the *Hetruria*, restored to the inhabitants what the Gauls had plundered them of.

The consul entered Rome in triumph †, on the third of the nones of March, and the pomp and magnificence and his triumph was proportioned to the greatness of his victory, which was one of the most important the republic had then ever gained. It was usual on these occasions, to strip the prisoners of their military ornaments, but the Gauls were allowed to appear in the procession, in their belts, in derision of the vow they had made not to put them off till they were upon the capitol; and when they came there, they were taken from them, amidst the insulting hisses of the numerous spectators. This great defeat, however, did not entirely quiet the Gauls, nor make them submit, the senate therefore, the next year appointed two new consuls to continue the war against them.

These consuls passed the Po, being the first Roman generals who ever did so. They intended to invade the country of the *Insubres*, but were so terrified at the sight of the

† The reader will be enabled to form some idea of a triumph, from the print of one here given.

inhab-

inhabitants, that they concluded a peace with them, repassed the Po, and took refuge among their faithful allies, the Cenomani. But at last they determined to make another attempt on the Insubres. In the meantime, the Romans at home, were terribly alarmed with prodigies; upon which, the augers declared that the election of the consuls must have been some way defective; a letter was therefore sent, to order their return to Rome and abdicate. As to the consuls, they, thinking their return home dangerous, as they were to pass through so many nations, of whose fidelity they were not sufficiently assured, determined not to open the letter, till after they had engaged the Insubres.

This battle seems to have been wholly conducted by the consul Flaminius, who, not daring to trust the Gauls, whom he had sent for, to reinforce his army, ordered them to pass the river Addua, and then commanded the bridge to be broken down; and thus put it out of their power to join the enemy, if so disposed; as the river was not fordable. But he was not so prudent in the manner of drawing up the army, for neglecting the usual method, he drew up his forces so close, that the whole appeared to be but one phalanx, and the last line was so near the river Addua, that if they had been a little pressed by the enemy, they must have been forced into

gave it up to be plundered by his men, and then advanced to Rome loaded with the spoil; having, as he passed through the *Hetruria*, restored to the inhabitants what the Gauls had plundered them of.

The consul entered Rome in triumph †, on the third of the nones of March, and the pomp and magnificence and his triumph was proportioned to the greatness of his victory, which was one of the most important the republic had then ever gained. It was usual on these occasions, to strip the prisoners of their military ornaments, but the Gauls were allowed to appear in the procession, in their belts, in derision of the vow they had made not to put them off till they were upon the capitol; and when they came there, they were taken from them, amidst the insulting hisses of the numerous spectators. This great defeat, however, did not entirely quiet the Gauls, nor make them submit, the senate therefore, the next year appointed two new consuls to continue the war against them.

These consuls passed the Po, being the first Roman generals who ever did so. They intended to invade the country of the *Insubres*, but were so terrified at the sight of the

† The reader will be enabled to form some idea of a triumph, from the print of one here given.

inha-

inhabitants, that they concluded a peace with them, repassed the Po, and took refuge among their faithful allies, the Cenomani. But at last they determined to make another attempt on the Insubres. In the mean time, the Romans at home, were terribly alarmed with prodigies; upon which, the augers declared that the election of the consuls must have been some way defective; a letter was therefore sent, to order their return to Rome and abdicate. As to the consuls, they, thinking their return home dangerous, as they were to pass through so many nations, of whose fidelity they were not sufficiently assured, determined not to open the letter, till after they had engaged the Insubres.

This battle seems to have been wholly conducted by the consul Flaminius, who, not daring to trust the Gauls, whom he had sent for, to reinforce his army, ordered them to pass the river Addua, and then commanded the bridge to be broken down; and thus put it out of their power to join the enemy, if so disposed; as the river was not fordable. But he was not so prudent in the manner of drawing up the army, for neglecting the usual method, he drew up his forces so close, that the whole appeared to be but one phalanx, and the last line was so near the river Addua, that if they had been a little pressed by the enemy, they must have been forced into

into the river; but the legionary tribunes made amends for this imprudent step, by their skill and management. For they remembering that the Gauls usually abated of the courage with which they began their attack, in a little time, and that their swords were only fit for cutting, and easily bent, and consequently became useless, unless they had time to streighten them again with their foot on the ground. The tribunes therefore took two precautions, in consequence of which, they obtained the victory. First they distributed among the soldiers of the first line, javelins, used by the *triarii* ||, which were a kind of halberts, ordering them to present the points of them to the enemy, and by that means prevent them from using their swords. In the next place, they were ordered as soon as the vigour of the enemy was abated, to cast away their javelins, and, closing with the enemy, to engage them sword in hand.

The event was, that the Gauls having at the first attack, blunted their swords against the Roman Javelins, the latter then shorten-

The *triarii* were so called, because they composed the third line. They were usually veterans, and the principal strength of the army; and armed with javelins, called *pila*; whence they took the name of *pilani milites*.

The

ed their swords, and pressing close upon the enemy, left them no room to raise their arms, stabbed them, without any danger to themselves, as the swords of the Gauls had no points; and thus obtained a complete victory. Nine thousand of the Insubres were killed upon the spot, and seventeen thousand taken prisoners. But this great victory would have been lost, through the superstition of the Roman senate, had the consuls not deferred the reading of the letter till after the battle *. The letter was now opened and read; yet Flaminius pursued the advantages of his victory, and suffered his soldiers to plunder the riches of the conquered, and then, with his colleague, returned to Rome, and from the superstitious senate and people, met with a cold reception, and were refused a triumph; but the soldiery prevailed upon the people to allow the consuls a triumph, but immediately after, the senate obliged the consuls to abdicate.

The Insubres sued for a peace, which being refused, they took their thirty thousand *Gæsatæ* into their pay, under the command of their king *Viridomarus*, and passing the Alps, advanced into Italy. The new consuls the next spring, passed the Po, and laid siege to *Acerræ*, when the Gauls, to make a

* Before Christ 211, of Rome 537.

diversion, and in hopes to make the Romans raise the siege, crossed the Po, entered the Roman lands, and invested Calcidium. As soon as intelligence was gained of this, Marcellus, with two thirds of the horie, and about six hundred light-armed infantry, hastened to relieve the city, the siege of which, the the Gauls, as soon as they heard of their approach, raised, and marched to meet them. Marcellus showed great judgement in the drawing up of his army; which done, he slowly advanced towards the enemy; as soon as the two armies were in sight, Viridomarus, at the head of his troops, challenged to a single combat the Roman general. This being accepted by Marcellus, both armies quitted the field to the champions; when Marcellus rushed full speed upon the king, and gave him a deep wound with his lance, through his breast-plate; and then, spurring his horse with great violence against that of his adversary, made him recoil, rear, and throw his rider, against whom, Marcellus repeating his blows, killed him. His death greatly dispirited the Gælatæ, who, being furiously attacked by the Roman army, fled, and took shelter in the woods and forests of their own country.

In the mean time, the other consul had taken Acerræ, and invested the largest, richest, and most popular city in Ifubria, called Mediolanum; but was at last himself more closely.

mans
the
As
Ma
and
hast
n, the
eir ap
them
n the
ne, he
s soon
doma
ged to
This
armies
when
king
lance
urring
hat of
r, and
rcellus
death
ng fu
d, and
f their
had
rich
called
f more
closely

cl
ev
M
ci
ci
di
po
lo
ma
G
fro
de
In
his
de
ru
th
fin
tin
wa

tion
the
the
nif
her
bar
to

closely besieged by the Gauls, who, however, hastily retreated, upon the approach of Marcellus, and leaving the inhabitants of the city to the Romans, repassed the Alps. This city, and that of Comum, surrendered at discretion; and thus the Romans became possessed of all Italy, from the Alps to the Ionian sea. Insubria and Liguria were now made one province, and called Cisalpine-Gaul, governed by an annual prætor, sent from Rome. An extraordinary triumph was decreed Marcellus, for having conquered the Insubres and the Germans *. Marcellus, in his triumphal procession, carried on his shoulders the rich armour and spoils of Viridomarus, and dedicated the third and last time, the *Opima spolia* †, to Jupiter Feretrius ‡; single combats growing out of use, after this time among generals. The next considerable war the Romans engaged in, was the second

* This is the first time the Germans are mentioned in the Roman history.

† This name was given only to such spoils as the general of the Roman army had taken from the general of the enemy's troops; the name signifying rich spoils.

‡ Jupiter Feretrius, from *ferire*, to strike, hence when a king, or general, killed another in battle with his own hand, he dedicated the spoils to Jupiter Feretrius.

Punic, or Carthaginian, war; as related in the second volume of this work †.

Numantia besieged and taken by the Romans.

THE Romans having conquered Carthage † and Corinth, had still a very troublesome war to support in Spain, against a great and valiant commander Viriathus, who at first gained great advantages over the Romans, but the next year was defeated by the consul Q. Fabius who gained two victories over him, and made himself master of two important places. However the war continued some time; each party conquering in his turn. At last, Metellus, the consul, who commanded the Romans in Hither Spain, and who had been very successful there, was obliged to resign his army to Q. Pompeius, the new consul. The latter no sooner appeared in the field, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, than the Termatians and Numantines, who had hitherto kept themselves independent, offered to make a peace with him upon very advantageous terms. But this was obstinately refused by the imprudent consul; unless they

† As related in the second Volume of this work.

would.

would deliver up their arms; which they refusing, a new war ensued, in which much Roman blood was shed. Numantia was accordingly invested by the consul; but here a part of his army was surrounded and cut to pieces by the Numantines, who afterwards attacked his whole army, and greatly hurt them with their arrows and darts, which they threw from the neighbouring high places, insomuch that they forced the Roman general to retreat.

Termatia was the next place he attacked, but with no better success, for the very first day seven hundred of his legionaries were killed, by the Termatians, they also put to flight a Roman tribune, took the convoy which he was bringing to the camp, defeated a large party of Roman horse, and obliged them to fly from place to place, when having driven them to the edge of a precipice, they pushed both men and horses one over another; and all of them were dashed to pieces on the rocks. The Termatians continued in the field all night, in order to engage the Roman cavalry the next day; which they did accordingly; but, the enemy being far superior to them in numbers, they were forced to quit the field, after having kept their ground from break of day to sun-set. The number of the slain was equal on both sides; but the loss, which was a very considerable one.

one to a small nation, was scarce felt by the Romans.

However, the consul did not think fit to besiege the city; but marched to Malla, a small town, whose inhabitants surrendered to the Romans, after having massacred the Numantine garrison. From thence the consul advanced to Lanci, or, as others call it, Eagni, which covered the country of the Numantines. The Numantine garrison, finding that the inhabitants had privately agreed with the consul to sacrifice them, entered their houses in the night, and made a dreadful slaughter of them. The consul, taking advantage of this intestine war, gave orders for the assault, and made himself, without opposition, master of the defenceless city. Pompeius, seeing himself in possession of the place, thought it necessary to signalize his clemency and severity: but unluckily he misapplied them both; for he put the Lancians to the sword, and gave quarter to the Numantine garrison. Such were the exploits of Pompeius, after having kindled the Numantine war, and exasperated a brave people, whom he might have reduced upon terms very advantageous for his republic.

In Further Spain the proconsul Servilianus opened the campaign with success, having obliged Viriathus to raise the siege of Baccia, and taken some castles in that neighbourhood.

This
Eria
Viri
the
tach
circu
rous
to a
ambu
sides
choic
The
consu
powe
swor
depu
a pea
" T
coun
mans
Spain
thing
these
and t
a pea
fied l
Viria
rious
was,
coun
And
of th

This encouraged the consul to lay siege to Erisana, a strong city in Lusitania. But Viriathus, having by long marches reached the place, and got into it with a strong detachment in the night, before the lines of circumvallation were finished, made a vigorous sally upon the Romans, and drove them to a place where the rest of his army lay in ambush. There they were surrounded on all sides, and so hemmed in, that the only choice they had left was death, or slavery. The brave Lusitanian, having now the proconsul, and the whole Roman army, in his power, instead of putting them all to the sword, as he might have easily done, sent a deputation to Servilianus, offering to conclude a peace with him on this single condition; "That he should continue master of the country now in his power, and that the Romans should remain possessed of the rest of Spain." The proconsul, who expected nothing less than death, or slavery, thought these very favourable and moderate terms; and therefore without hesitation, concluded a peace, signed it, and got it soon after ratified by the Roman senate and people. Thus Viriathus at length put in execution the glorious design he had always had in view, which was, to erect himself a kingdom in the vast country he conquered from the republic. And indeed, had, it not been for the treachery of the Romans, he would have become, as
an

an ancient author calls him, the Romulus of Spain; he would have founded a monarchy capable of counterbalancing the power of Rome, or at least of setting bounds to her conquests in those parts.

The next year C. Lælius Sapiens was promoted to the consulate with Q. Servilius Cæpio. The latter was a man of no probity or honour; but, however, it fell to his lot to command in Further Spain; while Lælius, a general of experienced wisdom, equity, and valour, continued inactive in Rome. Pompeius was continued general in Hither Spain; but the republic sent a certain number of senators to regulate his conduct, and temper his fire. Before they arrived, he undertook the mad project of reducing Numantia, by turning the stream of the Durius, which supplied it with water. This gave the inhabitants an opportunity of harassing his troops, and cutting off such numbers of them, that he was at length obliged to abandon the enterprize, and retire from before the place.

And now the great army he had received from Metellus being reduced to a very small number of troops, he began to reflect seriously on his misconduct; and, in order to screen himself from censures, very artfully brought about a peace with the Numantines on worse terms than they had before offered him; for they only agreed to deliver up the Roman deserters, and pay the republic thirty talents

tale
pea
Pen
sent
mea
Fur
ven
the
to o
thus
in S
mad
they
Lufi
by re
of ho
Pu
wort
confu
Viria
fered
bly o
ed h
The
mean
breac
and
shame
clare
had n
enem
mish
mole

talents at different times. However, this peace was approved of, and signed both by Pompeius, and the senators, who had been sent from Rome to be of his council. In the mean time Q. Servilius Cæpio, to whose lot Further Spain had fallen, being desirous to revenge the disgrace the Romans had suffered the last year before Erisana, pressed the senate to order him to break the peace with Viriathus. The letters he wrote after his arrival in Spain, and his continual remonstrances, made such impressions on the senate, that they basely directed him to exasperate the Lusitanian by mean artifices, and force him, by repeated affronts, to commit the first acts of hostility.

Pursuant to this order, which was so unworthy of a great and powerful people, the consul did all he could to pick a quarrel with Viriathus; but he overlooked the affronts offered him, protesting that he would inviolably observe the conditions of the peace granted him by the Roman senate and people. The consul, finding he could not by any means stir up the Lusitanian to an open breach, made fresh applications to the senate; and the conscript fathers, to the eternal shame of their republic, ordered him to declare war; and proclaimed Viriathus, who had not given them the least provocation, an enemy to Rome. The consul was no sooner impow-

impowered to begin the war, than he put his troops in motion; and, having made himself master of Arsa a city of Bœtica, he pursued Viriathus into the country of the Carpetani, where he was reduced to great streights. But the Lusitanian made a most glorious retreat; and, though the consul believed him shut in among the hills and rocks on all sides, he disappeared with his troops so suddenly, that the Romans, when they returned to their camp, changed the affair into ridicule, and were very severe in their jests on their general. Cæpio, seeing himself thus deluded by the enemy, entered the country of the Vettones, and committed there most dreadful devastations.

He then marched in quest of Viriathus, whom he reduced so low, having an army far superior in number to his, that the Lusitanian was forced to sue again for peace, and even to comply with the hard preliminary imposed upon him, which was, to sacrifice all those who had caused any cities to revolt from the Romans, among whom was his wife's father. He put some of them to death in his own camp, and the rest he delivered up to the severity of the consul, who cut off their right hands. He hoped, that this blind obedience would soften the consul. But, to his great surprise, the next order he received, was, to disarm his troops. This the whole army



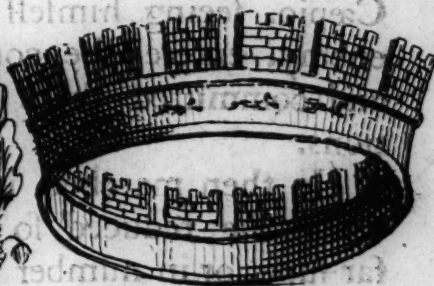
Triumphal Crown.



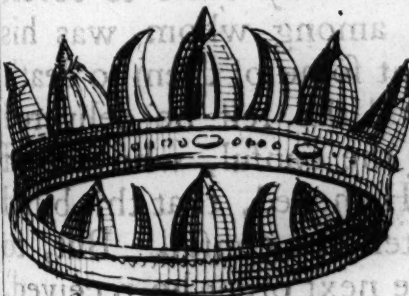
Siege Crown.



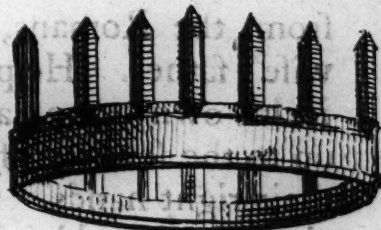
Civic Crown.



Mural Crown.



Naval Crown.



Camp Crown.

[illegible]

an
ho
at
co
kin
the
tre
an
con
aft
wh
pab
mon
grea
mun
sleep
rega
or t
they
fled
they
the p
perie
who
told t
to gi
proac
were
dered
troops
comm
Vo

army rejected with great indignation, and hostilities were renewed, during which Viriathus continued his negotiations with the consul, being wholly bent on founding a new kingdom in Spain, and settling himself on the throne. The persons he employed to treat with Cæpio, were Audax, Ditalco, and Minur, in whom he reposed an intire confidence. But the consul, finding them, after some private conferences, to be men wholly devoted to their own interest, and capable of any crime by which they could promote it, engaged them by rich presents, and great promises, basely and treacherously to murder their general, and their friend, in his sleep. Thus the Romans began to have no regard to the law of nations, to public faith, or to humanity itself. The assassins, after they had committed the execrable murder, fled to the consul's camp, informed him that they had dispatched his rival, and demanded the promised reward. But they found by experience, that traitors are hated even by those who profit by their treachery: for the consul told them, that all he would do for them was, to give them protection; adding, with a reproachful air, that the Roman magistrates were not very ready to reward those who murdered their own generals. The Lusitanian troops were inconsolable for the loss of their commander, who was, without all doubt,

the greatest man ever bred, and deemed invincible by Rome herself.

After his death, the Lusitanians appointed one Tantalus to command them, who, having rashly undertaken the siege of Saguntum, was surpris'd by Cæpio, defeated, and forced to surrender himself, and his whole army at discretion. And thus an end was put to this troublesome war, after it had lasted fourteen years. However, the senate had so much honour left, as to refuse a triumph to the infamous consul, though they enjoyed the fruits of his villainy, and even continued him in the command of the army another year in Further Spain, with the title of proconsul.

The next year, when Lucius Calpurnius Piso and M. Popilius Lænas were consuls, the republic basely and unjustly broke the treaty which Pompeius had concluded with the Numantines, though the proconsul had received from those unfortunate people the deserters, hostages, and money stipulated. The following year, P. Scipio Nasica and D. Junius Brutus were advanced to the consulate, and the latter appointed to govern Farther Spain, where he executed the orders he brought from Rome, of settling some of the veterans in a colony with Viriathus's soldiers. This new colony he called Valentia, which in process of time became a place of great

gr
ba
ow
lik
ral
len
cou
ful,
the
Nu
But
Nu
arm
them
form
camp
In
Lepi
passe
tered
wom
fough
gaged
least
them
Never
render
mency
whole
Du
Furth

great renown. After this, he attacked the banditti, who ravaged his province, in their own country, which not only the men, but likewise the women, defended with unparalleled bravery. However, the consul at length reduced them, and, in regard of their courage, pardoned them.

In the mean time Popilius, now proconsul, pursuant to the orders he received from the senate, broke the treaty of peace with Numantia, and marched against that city. But he no sooner appeared before it, than the Numantines, sallying out, put the whole army to flight, and made such a slaughter of them, that they were not in a condition to form any further attempts during the whole campaign.

In the following consulate of M. Æmilius Lepidus and C. Hostilius Mancinus, Brutus passed the Minius in Further Spain, and entered the country of the Bracarini, where the women, intermixed with all their troops, fought with astonishing bravery. They engaged the legionaries without betraying the least fear, killed many of them, and were themselves cut in pieces without a shriek. Nevertheless, Talabrisia and other cities surrendered; and the consul, rather by his clemency, than by his sword, gained over the whole country to the interest of Rome.

During these expeditions of Brutus in Further Spain, the consul Mancinus took

upon him the command of the army, which was delivered up to him by Popilius in Hither Spain, and drew near to Numantia. But as those brave legionaries, who were the terror of the whole world, trembled at the very sight, nay, at the bare name, of a Numantine, the consul thought it adviseable to decamp, and move further off in the night. But the Numantines, being informed of their motions, pursued them; and, having first seized the camp, which they had abandoned; came up with the flying legions, and made a dreadful havock of them. The consular army consisted of at least thirty thousand; whereas the Numantines were not above four thousand. Nevertheless, this small body, strange as it may appear, killed in the pursuit twenty thousand of the Romans, and put the rest to a disorderly flight. At the return of light the consul saw himself surrounded by heaps of dead bodies, and shut in on all sides by the enemy in a rough and mountainous country. But, in this sad situation, instead of giving himself up to despair, he acted as prudence, and the present necessity, seemed to require. As there was no way left for him, and the poor remains of his army, to escape, the prudent consul began a negotiation with the enemy, offering to conclude a peace with them upon reasonable terms. This was what the Numantines had long desired; but, nevertheless, the bad success of their agreement with the consul Pompeius deterred

deterred them from entering into a treaty with the Roman general.

They therefore desired to treat only with Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who was then quæstor in the consul army, and greatly esteemed for his probity even by the enemy. With him the conferences were begun, and a peace concluded upon these terms: 1. That the Numantines should suffer the Romans to retire unmolested: 2. That the inhabitants of Numantia should maintain their independence, and be reckoned among the friends of the Roman people. The consul, the quæstor, and all the chief officers of the Roman army, bound themselves by a solemn oath inviolably to observe the second article. By this means the lives of ten thousand citizens were saved by the republic; so that the quæstor hoped to make a merit of his negotiation, with the Roman people. The Numantines, soon after the treaty was concluded, gave an instance of the sincerity of their intentions. When they plundered the Roman camp, they had taken, among other things, the quæstor's books of accompts; and Gracchus went into the city to demand them. The Numantines received him with great civility and politeness, restored him his books, and even offered him all the booty they found in the camp. But the quæstor, charmed with the generosity and good nature of the Numantines, rejected the offer, and accepted only of a small box, which belonged

to him, and was full of the incense which he used to burn in honour of his domestic gods.

When the news of the peace concluded with the Numantines was brought to Rome, the shocking injustice and baseness of the Romans, towards so generous an enemy, appeared anew. The Numantines had saved the lives of ten thousand Romans, who were in their power when the peace was concluded; but though the senate and people were glad to reap this advantage from the treaty, yet they resolved to break it; and therefore would not admit the Numantine ambassadors, on their first arrival, within the walls of the city. It is true, that when the new consuls, P. Furius Philus and Sex. Attilius Serranus, were chosen, they granted them an audience, when one of the ambassadors made a speech in the senate, which would have affected them, if they had had any sense of justice, or humanity. But, as these virtues had now forsaken Rome, the senate and people basely and unjustly resolved to break the peace, and extirpate that generous and innocent people, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the consul, the quæstor, and all the officers of the army who had served in Spain. They pretended to make the injured Numantines satisfaction, by ordering the consul Mancinus to be carried, bound hand and foot, to one of the gates of Numantia, and

and be there delivered up to the enemy, stripped of his arms and cloaths.

During these transactions at Rome, M. Æmilius Lepidus, who had been sent to succeed Mancinus in Hither Spain, began an unjust war with the Vaccæi, purely for the sake of finding himself work. But, while he was preparing to besiege Palantia, their capital, deputies came from Rome with a decree of the senate, ordering him to desist. However, Æmilius persisted in his design, till the Vaccæi, by intercepting his convoy, obliged him to decamp for want of provisions. The Romans left their camp in the night, and the Vaccæi, knowing in what confusion they retired, pursued them, and, in the pursuit, put six thousand legionaries to the sword. Nevertheless, Æmilius, on his return to Rome, was treated with more lenity than he expected, being condemned only to pay a fine. And now the consul, P. Furius Philus, being arrived in Spain, with orders to renew the war with the Numantines, thought it necessary, in the first place, to deliver up to them the victim he had brought from Rome. It was an affecting sight to see a consular man, who had lately appeared guarded by lictors, at the head of a flourishing army, now deprived of all the marks of a Roman citizen, stripped naked to the waist, and formally committed to the care of a *fecialis*, who was to put him into the hands of the enemy, for having, as was pretended,

imposed upon them by a false peace, and an unlawful oath. But the Numantines, not thinking the blood of one man a sufficient atonement for the breach of the most solemn engagements, shut their gates, declaring, that they would not accept of Mancinus, unless they had the whole army with him: so that after he had lain a whole day at the gate of the city, the consul Furius, agreeable to the equity of the Romans of that time, thinking this a sufficient satisfaction to the injured people, brought him back to his camp, entertained him with respect, and restored him to all the rights of a Roman citizen; nay, he was afterwards admitted to his place in the senate. The war with the Numantines, though already declared, was not renewed while Furius continued in Spain, his commission being, it seems, confined to the delivering up of Mancinus. But the next year, Q. Calpurnius Piso, who was chosen consul with Ser. Fulvius Flaccus, was ordered to carry on the war with vigour against the Numantines. But he, not caring to engage so brave and resolute an enemy, contented himself with besieging Palantia in the country of the Vaccæi, and did not so much as appear before Numantia. But Brutus made great conquests in Lusitania, and penetrated into the country of the Callaici, or Gallaeci, where he engaged an army of sixty thousand Spaniards, killed fifty thousand of them on the spot, made six thousand prisoners, and almost

almost extirpated the whole nation. Hence he acquired the surname of Callaicus, and was continued in his government, till the war should be ended. This year the Vardai, a people of Illyricum, rebelled, and rejected all amicable measures. Whereupon the consul Flaccus was sent with an army to reduce them; which he did so effectually, that Rome, at his return, honoured him with a triumph.

In the mean while the time for the elections being come, Scipio Africanus offered his nephew Fabius Buteo as a candidate for the quaestorship, when, to his great surprise, the tribes demanded Scipio himself for their consul, saying, that he only could destroy Numantia, who had destroyed Carthage. A law had been made some years before, enacting, that the same person should not be twice promoted to the consular dignity. The tribunes of the people, therefore, in order to honour Scipio with the fasces a second time, with the approbation of the senate, proposed to the comitia, that Scipio should have a special privilege granted him for his promotion, and that this privilege should not be made a precedent. The people accepted the proposal with joy, and nominated him consul for the next year, with C. Fulvius Flaccus. Scipio was ordered, without drawing lots, to carry on the war against the Numantines; but was not allowed to raise any new levies, the senate telling him, that there

there were soldiers enough in Spain, and that they only wanted a good general. However, he drew together a body of five hundred volunteers, all horsemen, whom he called, "the squadron of his friends," and borrowed about four thousand men of the cities in Italy. In the number of the former was, according to Velleius Paterculus, the famous poet Lucilius. He also wrote to Micipsa, king of Numidia, to send him succours; and then made all haste to his provinces; where he wisely spent the first summer in reforming his troops, till he had altered them to his wish; and frugality, vigilance, and a love of duty, had taken place of effeminacy, laziness, and indolence, which had long prevailed, among the officers as well as the soldiers. Neither did he spare, but rather increase, their labours, during the winter. He obliged every man that went out of the camp, to carry his tools, and bring back some stakes with him. When the soldiers complained of this hardship, he told them, that he would oblige them to bring palisades to fortify the camp, till they had learned to fortify it with their swords. At this time he received a reinforcement of cavalry, elephants, and slingers, from Numidia. They were a choice body; but what most distinguished them was the young prince who commanded them, by name Jugurtha, with whom the Romans were but too well acquainted afterwards. Young Marius made, on this occasion, his

first

first
into
was
that
cruel
A
he v
Rom
man
suls
Calp
the
the r
who
possib
to ap
son v
to ra
his so
force
but l
his tr
but b
flight
his l
siege,
Nu
cess,
which
The
to ha
least
Scipio

first campaign, and the brave prince entered into so strict a friendship with him, that he was inseparable from him; little suspecting that Marius would one day become his most cruel enemy, and his conqueror.

And now Scipio's consulship expired; but he was continued in the command of the Roman army in Spain, till such time as Numantia should be reduced. The new consuls chosen were P. Mutius Scævola, and L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi. Sicily fell by lot to the latter, where he was to make war with the revolted slaves; and Italy to the former, who continued in the capitol, to calm, if possible, the spirit of sedition, which began to appear there. Scipio, as soon as the season would permit, sent out large detachments to ravage the country round Numantia; for his scheme was to reduce the place, not by force, which would cost Rome much blood, but by famine. After he had found, that his troops were no longer afraid of the enemy, but boldly faced them, and even put them to flight, he began to put some confidence in his legionaries, and resolved to begin the siege, or rather the blockade, without delay.

Numantia stood on an hill of a difficult access, and had large fields within its walls, which were about three miles in compass. The inhabitants, able to bear arms, are said to have been only four thousand men, at least when the place was first invested by Scipio, whose army consisted of three score thousand

thousand well disciplined troops, Romans and Spaniards. These the proconsul divided into two bodies, the one commanded by himself, the other by his brother Q. Fabius; and, drawing near to the city, began his works. The Numantines, alarmed at the sight of so formidable an army, made again proposals of peace; but the proconsul insisting upon their delivering up, by way of preliminary, their city, their persons, and arms, to be disposed of at pleasure, they resolved to prefer a glorious death to an ignominious slavery. After they had taken this resolution, they marched out of the city in good order, insulted the Romans in their trenches, and, with a boldness which despair alone could inspire, offered the Roman general battle. But he declined it, saying to his soldiers, who began to complain of his conduct, that an able general ought never to hazard a battle, unless necessity compels him, or such an opportunity offers as makes the victory certain. "The Numantines," said he, "are actuated by despair; their ruin is inevitable; to engage them would be only giving them the pleasure of shedding your blood." Scipio, having thus restrained the impetuosity of his troops, surrounded the place with a wide and deep ditch, six miles in compass. Without this he drew another; and behind that raised a rampart, which he secured with palisades, and supported with a wall eight feet broad, and ten feet high, with towers at proper distances.

Then,

Then, to prevent any communication with the city by water, he stopped the navigation of the Durius, which washed the walls of the city, with a kind of steccado, which was flanked by two wooden castles on the two banks. When the works were finished, he guarded them carefully night and day. The ramparts were lined with legionaries, the towers filled with archers and slingers, and men posted all the way from the circumvallation to his camp, with orders to give notice by shouts on which side the alarm was made.

When any of the works were attacked by the besieged, the commander of the post attacked hung out a red standard by day, and made a great fire by night; upon which notice the general, who kept always twenty thousand men in readiness to march, sent them immediately strong reinforcements to drive back the enemy. Scipio gave no rest to the besieged, nor relaxation to his own troops. He visited each post every day, and took a view of all the parts of this vast circumvallation. But, notwithstanding all the precaution he could use, six of the besieged made their way thro' his camp, and, eluding the vigilance of the centries, got safe to the neighbouring cities, which they endeavoured to stir up against the Romans. But Lutia was the only place which did more than pity the unfortunate Numantines. The youth of this city, touched with concern for their distressed

tressed countrymen, resolved to march to their relief. But the old men in the place, having more at heart their own safety than that of the Numantines, acquainted Scipio with the resolutions and designs of their youth. Here-upon the general, without delay, flew to Lutia in person, with some light-armed troops, marched three hundred furlongs in eight hours, and, arriving, when least expected, at Lutia, demanded the rash young men to be delivered up to him. The inhabitants, unwilling to comply with his request, and part with their children, concealed them, and pretended they had made their escape. But Scipio threatening to pillage the city, they thought it adviseable to obey, and delivered up to him four hundred of the young men, who had been the chief promoters of the late resolution. The proconsul no sooner had them in his power, than he caused their right-hands to be cut off, and returned to his camp by sun-rising.

And now famine and despair increasing together in the besieged city, five embassadors came out to Scipio, intreating him, in the name of their countrymen, either to let them end their days, like brave men, in a general action, or save their liberty by an honourable capitulation. Abarus, who was at the head of the embassy, suggested to Scipio, that it was for his honour, either to shew clemency to a people, who had so bravely signalized their love for liberty, or, at least, not to destroy

stroy them otherwise than with the sword. But they received this short answer. "I will hearken to no proposal, till you have absolutely surrendered up to me your city, your persons, and your arms, without any reserve." Then the fury of the besieged first vented itself on the deputies, whom they cut in pieces for bringing them nothing but ill news. Afterwards, being pressed by want, they resolved to make a last effort, in order to break through the barriers which confined them. Accordingly, they marched out in good order, by two gates, and fell upon the works with a fury not to be expressed. Their fixed resolution to escape, or die, made them insensible of the many wounds they received. In spite of the continual showers of stones, darts, and arrows, which were discharged upon them from the ramparts and towers, they would have forced their way through the enemy's camp, had not Scipio himself, at the head of twenty thousand men, hastened to the relief of the troops that defended the posts attacked by the enemy. They were then, after a sharp dispute, forced to give way to numbers, and retire, which they did in good order. But their returning into the city was only changing one kind of death for another; for they were now reduced to such straits, as to feed first on the flesh of their horses, afterwards on that of their dead companions; and lastly, to kill and devour one another.

In

In this deplorable condition they held a consultation, wherein it was resolved, that they should have recourse to the proconsul, and make an absolute surrender, since they could by no means hold out any longer. However, this resolution was not universally approved. Great numbers chose rather to die, than to give up their liberty; shut themselves up in their houses, and there calmly waited for their fate, which hunger soon brought upon them. The rest sent a deputation to Scipio, who was touched with compassion at the sight of those unhappy men. There was something inexpressibly wild in their air, and a savageness even in the manner they addressed him. As soon as they mentioned the word "surrender," the proconsul received them graciously, and ordered them to bring all their arms to a place appointed the next day. But they demanded a longer time, which being granted, they set fire to their houses, as some historians tell us, reduced their city to ashes, and either killed one another, or perished in the flames; insomuch that not one of them remained alive to grace the proconsul's triumph. With this city fell all the hopes of the revolted Spaniards; so that the whole country immediately submitted to the Roman yoke.

LI EE 69

End of the THIRD VOLUME.

on-
they
and
uld
er,
ed.
to
in
for
oon
pio,
the
was
and
ad-
the
ived
ring
next
ime,
their
uced
one
much
grace
y fell
; so
litted